

Indications of Geography? Constructions of Place, Boundaries, and Authenticity in the UK Protected Food Names System.

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Declaration.

I hereby declare that the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

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Abstract.

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Geographers have investigated agri-foods, commodity chains, 'alternative' food networks, 'local' production, and multicultural cuisine. However, the relationship between food, place, boundaries, environmental determinism, and authenticity remains under-researched. This thesis seeks to redress this deficiency with a detailed study of the construction of the Protected Food Names (PFN) scheme in the UK. PFNs are a type of Intellectual Property (IP) and form the European component of the international Geographical Indications (GI) system. These place-based foods and drinks originate from defined and bounded areas and are produced in supposedly traditional ways. Their manufacturers consider them unreplicable outside the protected zone.

This qualitative investigation of three PFNs – Melton Mowbray Pork Pies, Stilton Cheese, and Grimsby Traditional Smoked Fish – critiques the ways in which ideas of place, boundaries, and authenticity are invoked by producers. The thesis interrogates how manufacturers understand place and its boundedness, employ supposedly 'objective' historical evidence, and apply the ambiguous notion of authenticity to stabilise and sustain local practices. The study also examines the strategies deployed to generate consumer interest in an era where uniqueness is an important marker of value.

This work thus introduces a different conceptual angle to accounts of the PFN structure which primarily privilege legal or economic assessments. It aims instead to deconstruct the geographical concepts on which the PFN edifice is based. The ultimate aim is to draw attention to the vagaries inherent in the increasingly hegemonic GI model. This research connects with geographical debates about the construction of place and boundaries, the social production of authenticity, the role of selective historical 'facts' in the development of narratives about place, and the 'selling' of location and its products. It therefore provides a lens through which the foundations and everyday operation of the GI system can be profitably analysed.

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Table of Contents.

Abstract.	3
Acknowledgements.	4
Table of Contents.	5
List of Tables.	9
List of Figures.	10
List of Plates.	11
List of Acronyms.	13
 Chapter I: 'Food for Thought': An Introduction to Geographically-Based Food Systems.	
I. The Explosion of Taste.	15
II. From Indications of Source to Geographical Indications.	16
III. The Geography of Protected Food Names.	18
IV. Outline for an Investigation of the Geographical Indication System.	23
 Chapter II: From Champagne to Tjukkmjølke: The Protection of 'Traditional, Local, and Authentic' Food and Drink.	
I. Indications of Geography?	30
II. The Evolution of Geographical Indications.	31
III. Environmental Determinism and Models of <i>Terroir</i> .	37
IV. Place, Production, and Structures of Knowledge.	45

V.	The Advantage of Place-Based Protection.	49
VI.	Constructions of Authenticity in Time and Place.	57
VII.	And What of Tjukkmjøl?	69

Chapter III: Investigating Place, Production, and Protected Food Names.

I.	Unpacking Protected Foods.	72
II.	Selection of Case Studies.	74
III.	Interview Techniques and Considerations.	79
IV.	Textual Interpretation and Qualitative Data Analysis	84

Chapter IV: 'Manufacturing' Melton Mowbray: Place, Boundaries, and the 'Authentic' Pork Pie.

I.	A Meaty Issue.	90
II.	Rationales for the Protection of the 'Authentic' Pork Pie.	91
III.	The Advantages of Qualification.	103
IV.	The Creation of a Historical Narrative.	112
V.	The Development of the Bounded Area.	118
VI.	The Challenge to the Boundaries.	125
VII.	The Consumption of 'Authenticity'.	129
VIII.	The Stabilised Pork Pie?	135

Chapter V: 'Stabilising' Stilton: Boundaries, Pasteurisation, and the 'King of English Cheeses'.

I.	The Unimpeachable Cheese?	137
II.	The Certification Trademark and the Protected Designation of Origin.	138
III.	Place and <i>Terroir</i> in Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Nottinghamshire.	143
IV.	Cheese-Making Skills as a Justification for Protection.	152
V.	Bygone Boundaries and Present Controversies.	155
VI.	The Protected Designation of Origin as a Safety Mechanism.	168
VII.	The Network Under Threat?	178

Chapter VI: It's Not So 'Grim Up Grimsby': Fish Smoking, Sourcing, and 'Keeping the Tradition Alive'.

I.	Dropping the Bait.	181
II.	The Rise and Fall of a Maritime Empire.	182
III.	The Production of Traditional Smoked Fish.	184
IV.	Rationales for the Protection of Grimsby Fish.	187
V.	The Sourcing and Smoking of Protected Geographical Indication Fish.	195
VI.	Factors Restricting the Commercialisation of the Protected Geographical Indication.	206
VII.	Traditional Production Methods as a Form of Quality Control.	210
VIII.	Cod Wars, Financial Disaster, and (Possibly) Common Fisheries.	213

IX.	Plenty More Fish in the Sea?	220
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**Chapter VII: A 'Place' at the Table? Geographical Constructions and the
Future of Place-Based Food Systems.**

I.	A Postprandial Conclusion.	223
II.	Economic and Cultural Rationales for Protection.	223
III.	Conceptions of 'Place' and 'Boundaries'.	228
IV.	The Role of 'Authenticity'.	233
V.	Constructions of Authenticity – A Critical Engagement.	237
VI.	Study Implications and Suggestions.	245
VII.	The Future of Geographical Indications.	249
VIII.	Concluding Remarks.	251
	Appendix: Sample Interview Questions.	254
	Bibliography.	260

List of Tables.

Table 1.1: British PFNs: by date of protection, January 2013.	21
Table 1.2: A selection of European PFNs: by class.	22
Table 1.3: Registered PDO, PGI, and TSG products: by country, January 2013.	24
Table 3.1: List of interviews.	80
Table 3.2: Descriptive codes generated from interview transcription of Mark Wheatley.	87
Table 3.3: Thematic codes developed from Northern Foods Plc (Claimant) v The Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defendant) in the High Court of Justice (20 May 2005) Detailed Statement of Grounds.	87
Table 4.1: Melton Mowbray Pork Pie producers: January 2013.	95
Table 5.1: Blue Stilton Cheese producers: January 2013.	141
Table 5.2: Pasteurisation requirements for protected British cheeses.	169

List of Figures.

Figure 1.1: PDO, PGI, and TSG logos used in the UK.	19
Figure 1.2: The equivalent logos in France.	19
Figure 1.3: Scotch Beef advertisement which foregrounds PGI status.	19
Figure 1.4: Registered PDO, PGI, and TSG products: by year, 1996-2012.	25
Figure 4.1: Melton Mowbray producers located in the town or borough.	119
Figure 4.2: Melton Mowbray producers located outside the town and borough but inside the zone of protection (marked).	120
Figure 4.3: The MMPPA's 'Authentic Melton Mowbray' logo.	131
Figure 5.1: The SCMA's CTM logo.	139
Figure 5.2: Map of the Stilton production area.	145
Figure 5.3: Map of the Blue Stilton producers.	145
Figure 6.1: The GTSF logo.	190
Figure 6.2: Map of Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and Norway.	196
Figure 6.3: Map of Grimsby which emphasises the Docks.	202
Figure 6.4: Location of the traditional smoke-houses on the Docks.	202

List of Plates.¹

Plate 4.1: Melton Mowbray Pork Pies made by Samworth Brothers for Tesco.	96
Plate 4.2: External appearance of a Melton Mowbray.	101
Plate 4.3: Anatomy of a Melton Mowbray.	101
Plate 4.4: 'Rural Capital of Food' plaque at Melton Mowbray railway station.	108
Plate 4.5: Signpost pointing to Dickinson & Morris' <i>Ye Olde Pork Pie Shoppe</i> .	108
Plate 4.6: Plaque commemorating Edward Adcock and the foundation of the national Melton Mowbray trade.	109
Plate 4.7: British Pie Awards 2011: Final preparations at St. Mary's Church in Melton Mowbray.	110
Plate 4.8: British Pie Awards 2011: Melton Mowbray Pork Pie selection.	110
Plate 4.9: British Pie Awards 2011: Xanthe Clay (Food Writer, <i>Daily Telegraph</i>) and Richard Watkin (Master Butcher and Baker) judge the Melton Mowbray pies.	111
Plate 4.10: Dickinson & Morris sales board which emphasises the pies' authenticity.	130
Plate 5.1: Co-operative Rich & Creamy Blue Stilton.	139
Plate 5.2: Tesco Mature Blue Stilton from Long Clawson Dairy.	140
Plate 5.3: Hand-wrapped Cropwell Bishop Blue and Organic Blue Stilton purchased at the Creamery.	147
Plate 5.4: The Bell Inn, Stilton.	158

¹ All photographs were taken by the author.

Plate 5.5: Cooper Thornhill's restored grave at St. Mary Magdalene Church in Stilton.	163
Plate 6.1: The haddock fillets are placed in brine.	185
Plate 6.2: The filleted and brined haddock are placed on 'speats' to await smoking.	185
Plate 6.3: The rows of haddock on 'speats' are smoked in the tar-clad chimneys.	186
Plate 6.4: The smoked haddock are removed from the chimneys.	186
Plate 6.5: Grimsby undyed haddock contrasted with dyed haddock.	194
Plate 6.6: A 'perfect' unblemished haddock.	198
Plate 6.7: Keith Graham with GH Abernethie in the background.	203
Plate 6.8: The fish auction in progress.	205
Plate 6.9: Haddock purchased by Richard and George Enderby at the auction.	205
Plate 6.10: External view of the six Alfred Enderby chimneys.	208

List of Acronyms.

AOC	Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CFP	Common Fisheries Policy
COOL	Country of Origin Labelling
CSC	Certificates of Special Character
CTM	Certification Trademark
DEFRA	Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs
DOOR	Database of Origin and Registration
ECJ	European Court of Justice
FITFIR	First in Time First in Right
GI	Geographical Indication
GTFS	Grimsby Traditional Fish Smokers Group
INAO	Institut National des Appellations d'Origine
IP	Intellectual Property
JMMB	Jersey Milk Marketing Board
JR	Judicial Review
LDC	Less Developed Countries
LSA	Lincolnshire Sausage Association

MICO	Marks Indicating Conditions of Origin
MMPPA	Melton Mowbray Pork Pie Association
NBA	Newcastle Brown Ale
oriGIn	Organization for an International Network of Geographical Indications
PDO	Protected Designation of Origin
PGI	Protected Geographical Indication
PFN	Protected Food Names
SCA	Speciality Cheesemakers Association
SCMA	Stilton Cheesemakers' Association
TK	Traditional Knowledge
TRIPS	Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property
TSG	Traditional Speciality Guaranteed
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization

Chapter I

'Food for Thought': An Introduction to Geographically-Based Food Systems.

I. The Explosion of Taste.

The globalisation of contemporary society enables Western consumers to enjoy a wide variety of previously inaccessible products. One of the more imaginative ways in which people are now able to vicariously 'consume' other cultures occurs through their engagement with international food and drink. The shelves in our local supermarkets are festooned with a bewildering plethora of wines, spirits, beers, meats, cheeses, and fruits which originate from every corner of the globe. The fruit section provides just one illustrative example and is laden with bananas from Ecuador, blueberries from Poland, mango from the Ivory Coast, papaya from Brazil, and watermelon from Spain. The link between product and country name provides consumers with an 'indication of source'.

More recently, however, some foodstuffs have begun to be labelled with a detailed indication of origin which connects them not only to a country but also to a specific locality. Foods that have been formally certified in this manner are known as Geographical Indications (GIs). This form of Intellectual Property (IP) is defined by the World Trade Organization (WTO) as “indications that identify a good as originating in the territory of a [WTO] Member or locality in that territory, where a given quality, reputation, or other characteristic of the good is essentially attributable to its geographical origin.”² This bold statement suggests that quality directly results from the place of production. Supporters of GIs claim that the link between place and outcome is considerably more pronounced than that for indications of source. My overall aim in this thesis is to interrogate the mechanisms by which the GI structure is performed. I plan to unveil the contradictions and inconsistencies inherent in its application in order to suggest ways in which its regulatory powers can be profitably revised.

² Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property (1995) Part II Section 3 Article 22 Paragraph 1.

II. From Indications of Source to Geographical Indications.

The commercial desire to create an international IP regime in the latter part of the 19th century was due to the burgeoning railway and shipping networks which facilitated the mobility of transportable goods. The creators of such items soon discovered that their company names were duplicated on inferior items which diluted the reputation of the legitimate brand (Giovannucci *et al.*, 2010). IP law is designed to enable individuals and corporations to have confidence that the results of their intellectual labour will be protected from competitors who would otherwise misappropriate their established brand name or exploit their valuable knowledge (Nair and Kumar, 2005). More 'conventional' forms of IP like trademarks, patents, and copyright are owned by one firm or person whereas GIs are owned by the nation-state which allocates them to any number of producers that operate within the protected zone as long as they fully comply with the regulations. The place-name of a food or drink that has protected status can not be used by producers located outside the specified area nor by those in-place who are unwilling or unable to abide by the defined methods of production. Dwijen Rangnekar (2004: 15) notes that the key difference between GIs and other forms of IP is that “trademarks are distinctive signs identifying goods of an enterprise and thus not limited by any territorial link” whereas geography “is at the heart’ of IGOs [Indications of Geographical Origin], which in the case of GIs [provide] a distinctive sign identifying goods with a particular quality as originating from a specific geographical area.”

It may initially seem self-evident that specific areas have become renowned for the production of certain foods and drinks and that producers who have maintained these territories should benefit through control of the geographical names attached to their products. However, a closer look at the GI system reveals a number of concerns. GIs are produced within defined locations but what, after all, is 'place'? Is it an area with identical or similar geological foundations? Is it a politically assigned unit? Is it static or can it be expanded at will? Must GIs be 'local'? How can this notion be defined? Is 'place' premised on environmentally deterministic conceptions? Do producers make claims that the characteristics of the land are 'natural'? Do they valorise human skills which manipulate 'nature'? What is an 'authentic' food or drink? How are 'authentic' or 'traditional' forms of production linked to place? These questions can be illustrated by specific examples. The production area of Feta Cheese comprises all of mainland Greece which possesses a varied geology and climate. Does this suggest that quality derives from the skills of the cheese-makers rather than the

attributes of land? Parma Ham is only considered authentic when sliced in the Parma region of Italy. Can the skills of Parma slicing maestros be bounded in-place at a time of globalisation and migration? A essential ingredient of Newcastle Brown Ale is the waters of the Tyne. What happens to 'place' when its owners wish to move out of Newcastle? These are the real-world issues that derive from a critical reading of GIs.

The above-mentioned examples suggest that the place of production performs some very important work within the GI structure. Place 'sells' which explains why it is so frequently manipulated by retailers. Marks & Spencer's 'Oakham chicken' is a trademark that has no connection to the town of Oakham but which exploits British consumers' desire for 'local' food.³ The *Which?* consumer group is unhappy about these kinds of 'creative' food labels which include fictitious places like Tesco's 'Willow Farm' chickens.⁴ Bacon from Denmark can legally be labelled 'British' due to a consumer legislation loophole which allows pork from abroad to be considered 'British' provided that it is cured in the UK while the production of national favourites like Twinings tea, Smarties, and HP Sauce have been outsourced to Poland, Germany, and the Netherlands.⁵ The GI system is attractive to place-based producers because (in contrast to the examples above) its constructors insist that the place of production must be accurately reported although the legitimacy of this assertion depends on how 'place' is defined.

Food is a source of nutrition but can also possess a number of other functions. Pierre Bourdieu (1984: 190) remarks that “taste, a class culture turned into nature, that is embodied, helps to shape the class body. It is an incorporated principle of classification which governs all forms of incorporation, choosing and modifying everything that the body ingests and digests and assimilates, physiologically and psychologically.” He suggests that food is an integral part of who we are and how we view ourselves. This will apply not only to what we eat but to those who produce such edibles. Ian Cook (2006: 656) asserts that “there's a core argument that food can tell us about anything. It's simultaneously molecular, bodily, social, economic, cultural, global, political, environmental, physical, and human geography.” This indicates that food is best understood as a construction of life itself which represents wider cultural and economic themes. Anthropologist Jillian Cavanaugh (2007: 151) explains that “food is the perfect vehicle for examining the intersection of large-scale economic, political, and social processes with small-scale, mundane, everyday routines because it

³ The Mystery of the Oakham Chicken, *The Daily Telegraph*, 28 September 2010.

⁴ Don't Fall For Creative Food Labels Says Which?, *Which?*, 13 February 2012.

⁵ Best of British...But Now They're All From Abroad, *Daily Express*, 24 September 2011.

is both a physical substance and a symbolic object.” She reveals that food production and consumption are thus riddled with meaning. Jon May (1996c: 59) argues that “roast beef and Yorkshire pudding has clearly come to stand for a whole number of things; ranging from traditional family (Sunday lunch) to a certain vision of (white) Englishness.” A ‘roast dinner’ (or, for that matter, a ‘full English breakfast’) is believed to evince the character of those who create and consume these traditional outputs. This selection of quotations proves that an investigation of food production practices – the way in which foods are socially constructed by their manufacturers – can unearth some revelatory insights into the way in which geography is regulated by place-based actors. My intention in this work is to research the production of place-based foods in order to generate hitherto unexplored material through a detailed study of British GIs.

III. The Geography of Protected Food Names.

This thesis uses the production of geographically-specific food to investigate constructions of place, boundaries, environmental determinism, *terroir* (the idea that the qualities of a food or drink derives exclusively or substantially from the attributes of the land from which it originates), tradition, history, and authenticity. An analysis of the mechanisms by which the GI system operates in the UK will provide an opportunity to unveil how geography is deployed by the GI community. I question how such ideas are utilised through three detailed studies of Melton Mowbray Pork Pies, Stilton Cheese, and Grimsby Traditional Smoked Fish. GIs are known in the EU as Protected Food Names (PFN) and are certified as Protected Designation of Origin (PDO), Protected Geographical Indication (PGI), and Traditional Speciality Guaranteed (TSG) foods and drinks.⁶ The distinction between these forms of protected status is that the production, processing, and preparation of PDOs must occur within the designated zone while PGI products need only have one of these aspects – the production, processing, or preparation – occur in the defined area. TSGs are an incongruous type of GI due to their tenuous connection to place. They are made by ‘traditional’ methods of production but this requirement overshadows a need for any direct relationship to the locus of production. PDOs, PGIs, and TSGs can be identified from the logos (see Figures 1.1-1.3) displayed on packaging and promotional materials.

⁶ PFN certifications are translated into their national language. They are, for example, known in France as Appellation d’Origine Protégée (AOP), Indication Géographique Protégée (IGP), and Spécialité Traditionnelle Garantie (STG); in Spain as Denominación de Origen Protegida (DOP), Indicación Geográfica Protegida (IGP), and Especialidad Tradicional Garantizada (ETG); and in Italy as Denominazione di Origine Protetta (DOP), Indicazione Geografica Protetta (IGP), and Specialità Tradizionale Garantita (STG).

Figure 1.1: PDO, PGI, and TSG logos used in the UK.



Figure 1.2: The equivalent logos in France.



Figure 1.3: Scotch Beef advertisement which foregrounds PGI status.

A vertical advertisement for Scotch Beef. At the top is a close-up of a cooked steak with green herbs and red tomatoes. Below this is the text 'SCOTCH BEEF' in large, bold, serif font, followed by 'GREAT QUALITY OF LIFE' and 'GREAT QUALITY OF TASTE' in smaller, bold, serif font. To the right of the text is a blue oval logo with 'SCOTCH BEEF' and a smaller circular PGI logo below it. At the bottom left is a photo of a farmer in a green vest and cap standing in a field with a cow. At the bottom right is a small European Union flag with the text 'Campaign financed with aid from the European Union' below it. A small URL 'www.scotchbeefandlamb.com' is also present.

PDOs and PGIs are registered in one of three categories.⁷ Class one foods are meat; meat products; cheese; other animal products (eggs, honey); oils and fats (butter, margarine); fruits, vegetables, and cereals; fresh fish and molluscs; and spices. Class two products are beers; beverages made from plant extracts; bread, pastry, cakes, and biscuits; natural gums; mustard paste; and pasta. Class three items are hay; essential oils; cork; cochineal;⁸ flowers; wool; wicker;⁹ and scutched flax.¹⁰ Spirits,¹¹ mineral waters,¹² and crafts are excluded. Several British protected names (see Table 1.1) are well-known (such as Cornish Clotted Cream, Cornish Pasties, Jersey Royal Potatoes, Melton Mowbray Pork Pies, Scotch Beef, and Stilton Cheese) while others are more obscure (like Arbroath Smokies,¹³ Dorset Blue Cheese, Isle of Man Queenies¹⁴, New Season Comber Potatoes,¹⁵ and Staffordshire Cheese). The table shows that the number of protected names has gradually risen in the last three years. It appears that – after several lean years – British producers have started to embrace the PFN scheme.¹⁶ A small selection of European protected names (see Table 1.2) demonstrates the expansive remit of the system.

An elaborate and time-consuming procedure is required to transform place-based goods into legally protected names.¹⁷ A group of producers (or, more unusually, a single producer) form an applicant group. They then apply to the 'relevant contact point' (which, in England, is a consultancy called ADAS¹⁸)¹⁹ with a description of the product, the proposed geographical area, methods of production, and the historic link to the desired zone of protection. This evidence is examined and published by the Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA). This provides British companies with an opportunity to object to any aspect of the application. The request is forwarded to the EU if there were no objections or any concerns were resolved. The

⁷ TSGs have a slightly different categorisation which includes chocolate, pre-cooked meals, prepared condiment sauces, soups or broths, beverages made from plant extracts, and ice-creams and sorbets.

⁸ An insect from which a red dye called carmine is extracted.

⁹ Woven fibre made rigid and used for baskets, chairs, and assorted furniture.

¹⁰ A plant whose fibres can be spun. Flax that is scutched has been treated through beating.

¹¹ The EU considers spirits to have geographical qualities but they are not classified in the same manner as foods and wines.

¹² Mineral waters were included but then withdrawn due to the overwhelming number of applications.

¹³ Smokies are haddocks covered in salt, dried, and intensively smoked.

¹⁴ Queenies – or Queen Scallops – are medium sized scallops specific to the Isle of Man.

¹⁵ Comber is a small town in County Down, Northern Ireland.

¹⁶ There are also numerous British foods and drinks which are progressing through the application process: www.defra.gov.uk/food-farm/food/protected-names/protected-names-applications

¹⁷ Application Process For the EU Protected Food Name (DEFRA, 2006).

¹⁸ ADAS used to stand for the Agricultural Development and Advisory Service. It is now the company name and is no longer an acronym.

¹⁹ Applications are made to the Food and Drink Industry Division of the Scottish Government for Scotland, the Food Policy and Strategy Unit in the Food, Fish and Market Development Division for Wales, and the Department of Agriculture and Rural Development in Northern Ireland.

Table 1.1: British PFNs: by date of protection, January 2013

Protected Name	Type	Date of Protection
Scottish Wild Salmon	PGI	December 2012
Isle of Man Queenies	PDO	November 2012
Newmarket Sausage	PGI	October 2012
Armagh Bramley Apples	PGI	March 2012
New Season Comber Potatoes	PGI	January 2012
Lough Neagh Eels	PGI	November 2011
Native Shetland Wool	PDO	November 2011
Cornish Pasties	PGI	July 2011
Traditional Cumberland Sausage	PGI	March 2011
Traditionally Farmed Gloucestershire Old Spots Pork	TSG	July 2010
Cornish Sardines	PGI	March 2010
Yorkshire Forced Rhubarb	PDO	March 2010
Grimsby Traditional Smoked Fish	PGI	October 2009
Melton Mowbray Pork Pie	PGI	June 2009
Scottish Farmed Salmon	PGI	December 2008
Isle of Man Manx Loaghtan Lamb	PDO	April 2008
Staffordshire Cheese	PDO	September 2007
Scotch Beef	PGI	July 2004
Scotch Lamb	PGI	July 2004
Arbroath Smokies	PGI	March 2004
Welsh Lamb	PGI	July 2003
Welsh Beef	PGI	November 2002
Traditional Farmfresh Turkey	TSG	July 2000
Exmoor Blue Cheese	PGI	April 1999
Dorset Blue Cheese	PGI	December 1998
Cornish Clotted Cream	PDO	October 1998
Teviotdale Cheese	PGI	January 1998
Whitstable Oysters	PGI	January 1997
Shetland Lamb	PDO	November 1996
Beacon Fell Traditional Lancashire Cheese	PDO	June 1996
Blue Stilton Cheese	PDO	June 1996
Bonchester Cheese	PDO	June 1996
Buxton Blue Cheese	PDO	June 1996
Dovedale Cheese	PDO	June 1996
Gloucestershire Cider	PGI	June 1996
Gloucestershire Perry	PGI	June 1996
Herefordshire Cider	PGI	June 1996
Herefordshire Perry	PGI	June 1996
Jersey Royal Potatoes	PDO	June 1996
Kentish Ale	PGI	June 1996
Kentish Strong Ale	PGI	June 1996
Orkney Beef	PDO	June 1996
Orkney Lamb	PDO	June 1996
Rutland Bitter	PGI	June 1996
Single Gloucester Cheese	PDO	June 1996
Swaledale Cheese	PDO	June 1996
Swaledale Ewes Cheese	PDO	June 1996
West Country Farmhouse Cheddar Cheese	PDO	June 1996
White Stilton Cheese	PDO	June 1996
Worcestershire Cider	PGI	June 1996
Worcestershire Perry	PGI	June 1996

Table 1.2: A selection of European PFNs: by class.

Protected Name	Country	Class	Type	Date of Protection
Carne de la Sierra de Guadarrama	Spain	Meat	PGI	August 2004
Porc de Franche-Comté	France	Meat	PGI	October 2010
Szegedi szalámi	Hungary	Meat	PDO	December 2007
Prosciutto Toscano	Italy	Meat (salted)	PDO	July 1996
Timoleague Brown Pudding	Ireland	Meat (cooked)	PGI	November 2000
Comté	France	Cheese	PDO	June 1996
Edam Holland	Netherlands	Cheese	PGI	December 2010
Gorgonzola	Italy	Cheese	PDO	June 1996
Parmigiano Reggiano	Italy	Cheese	PDO	June 1996
Roquefort	France	Cheese	PDO	September 2008
Tekovský salámový syr	Slovakia	Cheese	PGI	March 2011
Crème Fraîche Fluide d'Alsace	France	Animal Origin	PGI	June 1996
Oeufs de Loué [eggs]	France	Animal Origin	PGI	August 2008
Podkarpacki Miód Spadziowy [honey]	Poland	Animal Origin	PDO	August 2010
Ekstra deviško oljčno olje Slovenske Istre [olive oil]	Slovenia	Oils and Fats	PDO	February 2007
Huile d'Olive de Nice [olive oil]	France	Oils and Fats	PDO	March 2006
Lammefjordsgulerod [carrots]	Denmark	Fruit, Veg, Cereal	PGI	April 2002
Limone Interdonato Messina	Italy	Fruit, Veg, Cereal	PGI	November 2009
Marchfeldspargel [asparagus]	Austria	Fruit, Veg, Cereal	PGI	April 2002
Clare Island Salmon	Ireland	Fresh Fish	PGI	October 1999
Kalix Ljörom [roe]	Sweden	Fresh Fish	PDO	November 2010
Třeboňský Kapr [carp]	Czech Republic	Fresh Fish	PGI	November 2007
Szegedi Fűszerpaprika-őrlemény	Hungary	Other (spices)	PDO	November 2010
Budějovické pivo	Czech Republic	Beers	PGI	August 2003
Münchener Bier	Germany	Beers	PGI	October 2007
Kainuun rönttönen [rye-crust pie]	Finland	Bread, Pastry, Cakes	PGI	November 2008
Pierekaczewnik [baked dough]	Poland	Bread, Pastry, Cakes	TSG	July 2009
Pizza Napoletana	Italy	Bread, Pastry, Cakes	TSG	February 2010
Skånsk Spettkaka [cake]	Sweden	Bread, Pastry, Cakes	PGI	July 2000
Τσίχλα Χίου / Tsikla Chiou [chewing gum]	Greece	Natural Gums, Resins	PDO	January 1997
Moutarde de Bourgogne	France	Mustard Paste	PGI	November 2009
Raviole du Dauphiné	France	Pasta	PGI	October 2009
Foin de Crau	France	Hay	PDO	July 2000
Huile Essentielle de Lavande de Haute-Provence [lavender oil]	France	Essential Oils	PDO	May 2003
Gentse Azalea [flowers]	Belgium	Flowers, Plants	PGI	April 2010

EU have one year to examine the proposal which is then published in the Official Journal.²⁰ At this point other EU nations can challenge the application. The food is registered by the EU after six months if the application is not contested which means the geographical name is protected in all 27 member states.

IV. Outline for an Investigation of the Geographical Indication System.

There are five major reasons why this study is timely and important. First, GIs have become an increasingly popular topic for IP lawyers, economists, and development practitioners. However, it is evident from their analyses that these scholars usually present GIs as unproblematic tools rather than socially constructed artefacts. Lawyers analyse the specifics of IP treaties while economists attempt to discern whether GI producers can command higher prices. Development professionals suggest that place-based African crafts should be transformed into formal GIs. The taken-for-granted perspective of these three groups neglects the geographical matters of place and boundaries which lie at the heart of all GIs. Second, the study of place-based consumables has long been prejudiced towards wine while this work targets food production and thus occupies an under-researched niche. Third, this study takes a producer-centric approach which provides an alternative angle to the numerous surveys of consumer attitudes towards place-based foods.²¹ Fourth, the international GI system has been scrutinised in considerable detail but the EU PFN scheme has been routinely overlooked. Moreover, the few studies of protected names that do exist all but ignore the UK. My focus on British foods will redress this deficiency. Fifth, the number of foods protected in the last five years is substantially greater than that of the equivalent previous period (see Figure 1.4). There are, as of January 2013, 1,139 EU PDOs, PGIs, and TSGs (see Table 1.3). Further, the WTO is currently contemplating the creation of an international GI database which would incorporate countries that lack strong national GI frameworks. These expansionary aims suggest that the precepts on which GIs are based should be subject to some immediate critical analysis. What I plan to do in this thesis is to make a specifically geographical contribution to the study of GIs which are – as their very name suggests – supposedly predicated on a defined

²⁰ The document of record for the EU which details all new legislation.

²¹ An excellent example is the 1996-98 *Eating Places* ESRC-funded project led by Ian Cook and Philip Crang. They conducted intensive multiple interviews with 12 Islington-based households. Their focus included how consumers interpret geographical knowledges of food and relate this information to their cultural identities. A part of this research involved connecting food production to place and investigating how consumers appreciated the biographies of their food. This study also interviewed key personnel in food provision systems (such as retailers, buyers, marketing personnel, and sales managers) along with the marketing director of a 'French bread' company based in West London. However, their *Full Report of Research Activities and Findings* (2005) shows that on-site interviews with consumers comprised the bulk of their research efforts (as depicted, for example, in Cook, Crang, and Thorpe, 1998).

Table 1.3: Registered PDO, PGI, and TSG products: by country, January 2013.

Country ²²	Registered PDOs	Registered PGIs	Registered TSGs	Total
Austria	8	6	0	14
Belgium	3	5	5	13
Bulgaria	0	1	0	1
China ²³	4	6	0	10
Colombia ²⁴	0	1	0	1
Cyprus	0	2	0	2
Czech Republic	6	22	0	28
Denmark	0	5	0	5
Finland	4	1	3	8
France	84	108	0	192
Germany	30	59	0	89
Greece	70	27	0	97
Hungary	6	6	0	12
India ²⁵	0	1	0	1
Ireland	1	3	0	4
Italy	154	92	2	248
Lithuania	1	0	1	2
Luxembourg	2	2	0	4
Netherlands	5	3	1	9
Poland	9	18	9	36
Portugal	59	59	0	118
Romania	0	1	0	1
Slovak Republic	0	7	3	10
Slovenia	4	4	3	11
Spain	87	71	3	161
Sweden	1	3	2	6
United Kingdom	20	29	2	51
Vietnam ²⁶	1	0	0	1
Multi-Country ²⁷	1	0	4	5
Total	560	541	38	1139

²² Estonia, Latvia, and Malta currently lack protected names.

²³ Producers from countries outside the EU can register their foods. The Chinese protected names are Dongshan Bai Lu Sun (asparagus), Guanxi Mi You (citrus), Jinxiang Da Suan (white garlic), Lixian Ma Shan Yao (yam), Longjing Cha (green tea), Longkou Fen Si (pasta), Pinggu Da Tao (peach), Shaanxi Ping Guo (apples), Yancheng Long Xia (shellfish), and Zhenjiang Xiang Cu (rice vinegar).

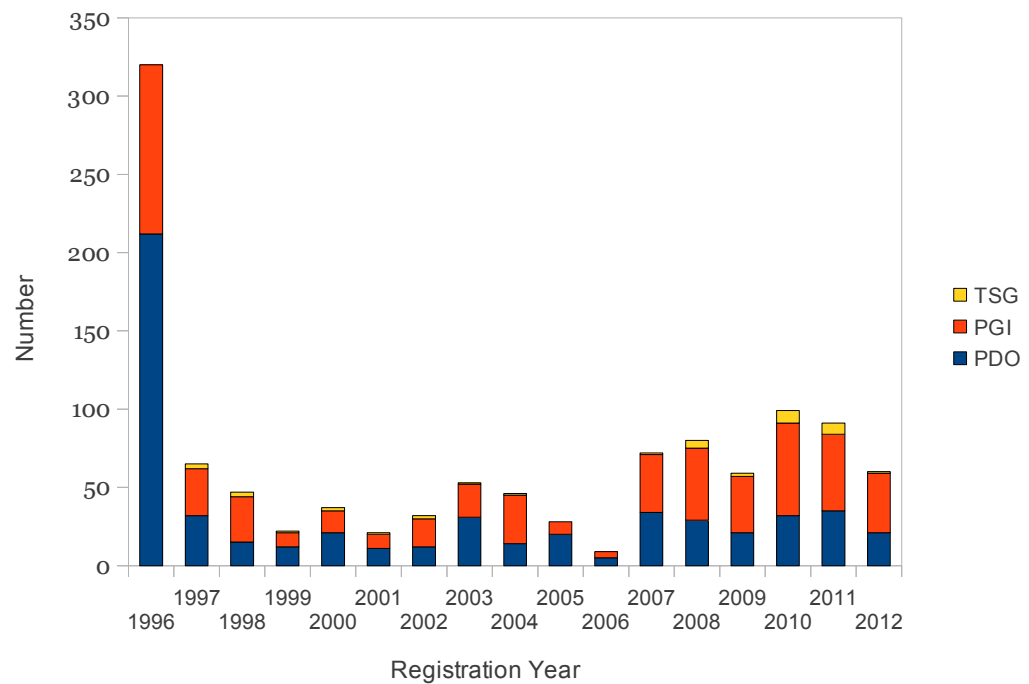
²⁴ The sole Colombian protected name is Café de Colombia.

²⁵ The only Indian protected name is Darjeeling.

²⁶ The solo Vietnam protected name is Phú Quốc (fish extract).

²⁷ The first multi-country PDO is the Polish-Lithuanian honey Miód z Sejneńszczyzny / Łódzkiej / Łazdij / Krašto Medus. There are also four TSGs which are jointly protected in the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic. These are the meats Liptovská saláma / Liptovský salám, Lovecký salám / Lovecká saláma, Špekáčky / Špekač kary and Spišské párky.

Figure 1.4: Registered PDO, PGI, and TSG products: by year, 1996-2012.



place. This in turn allows supporters of place-based foods to assert claims of tradition and authenticity. I aim to challenge the core beliefs that comprise the GI model and target the hegemonic constructions that have become taken-for-granted by producers and consumers alike.

Chapter II positions this study within the broader literature that references place, boundaries, *terroir*, and authenticity as these subjective ideas are invoked by GI manufacturers. I begin with an overview of the international and EU GI frameworks which allocate protection to a wide assortment of foods, drinks, agricultural products, and even crafts. One of the more ambiguous components of the GI scheme is the way in which producers mobilise forms of *terroir* to claim an unassailable link between the place of production and quality of the food or drink. Yet *terroir* itself has become a contested term and I explore the intellectual dimensions of this evolving construction. I situate the application of *terroir* within bounded places and therefore question how 'place' can be defined and mapped. I review the literature on monopoly rents which states that the exclusive right to use geographical names within defined places will provide in-place producers with economic gains. GI producers often use the amorphous idea of authenticity to promote their foods. I therefore consider it helpful to review the ways in which this notion has been applied to place and the products

created therein. A totem of food authenticity is the idea of 'local' production which often originates from 'alternative' food networks. These perspectives are not unproblematic and I subject them to a sustained review. My investigation of the literature concludes with the research questions which use the debates raised in this chapter to develop a scholarly apparatus which can better situate my research aims.

Chapter III describes the techniques I employed to acquire relevant data from my case studies. GIs are taken-for-granted by the majority of lawyers and economists who have monopolised what I consider to be an intensely cultural topic. I commence with some thoughts about how I could transcend the limitations of their perspectives with an approach that prioritises the professional actions of producers and regulators whose operations reinforce the GI structure. I also wanted to access participants who were not immediately obvious. This desire was especially apt in the Stilton case as I wished to speak with producers who were prohibited from using the valuable 'Stilton' name. This revealed how the constructions of place, boundaries, and tradition employed by in-place operators can function as an exclusionary device. I justify each of my three cases – Melton Mowbray Pork Pies, Stilton Cheese, and Grimsby Traditional Smoked Fish – with reference to their potential abilities to help unpick the infrastructure common to all GIs. The ability to gather pertinent data was dependent on my tactics. I discuss, for example, the idea of 'elite' and 'non-elite' subjects, comment on how I gained access to desirable informants, describe the selection of relevant interviewees, reveal the usefulness of industry-specific terminology to gain trust, examine the location of interviews to promote a reflective environment, ruminate on the efficacy of photography to visually document production practices, and summarise about the ability to provide anonymity to participants.

Chapter IV presents the Melton Mowbray case. Producers of local foods obtain protected status when they seek to transform their place-based products into official PFNs. This chapter explains how protected names are formed and the delicate negotiations required to overcome concerns from potential participants. I start with an analysis of the rationales that prompted a number of pork pie producers to request protected status. The manufacture of protected foods requires a bounded locale to be defined. This goal is not always easy to achieve as definitions of place and boundaries can be idiosyncratically applied. Consumers who expect the pies to be made in the general Melton vicinity may be bewildered by the boundary-changing schemes that Melton producers were forced to undergo. PFNs are supposed to be made in locations from which production historically occurred. I describe how a selective history –

which, at times, was both unwritten and unverifiable – was deployed to generate the present-day boundaries. I chose this case in part because Melton Mowbray is the only British protected name to have been challenged in court. I use the considerable legal documentation to present an encompassing overview of the Melton producers' quest for protected status. The legal submissions clearly show the arguments made by companies concerned about their exclusion from use of the 'Melton Mowbray' brand. Their objections thus permit a more complete analysis of how protected names both benefit and harm selected groups. The promoters of protected foods often claim they are 'authentic' due to their location and 'traditional' style of production. This suggests that foods produced externally or which accord to 'unacceptable' methods must be 'inauthentic'. I debate the notion of authenticity documented in this case by a specific style of pork pie located in time (based on apparently historical methods of manufacture) and place (within the protected zone) which is now considered authentic by producers, regulators, consumers, and the media.

Chapter V introduces the Stilton Cheese study. I enlarge on the information provided in the previous chapter and discuss some additional geographical components of the PFN system. Stilton has been a PDO since 1996. The 'Stilton' name is also a trademark and I begin this chapter by contrasting the ideas inherent in this 'conventional' form of IP to those explicated by the PDO. *Terroir* was not a research theme in the Melton Mowbray case but its application here is central. I consider the mechanisms by which producers conceptualise physical and human *terroir*. A focus on the human aspect of in-place production allows a comprehensive overview of this hazy topic and permits an analysis of the connection between *terroir* and environmentally deterministic theories. Stilton is an established name which was certified at the genesis of the PFN system. Yet my rationale for selecting this case was less about the longevity of its protected status and more about the forces which have recently mobilised to mount a sustained assault on the integral constitution of the PDO. Both Stilton's geography (its legally-determined place of production) and materiality (its physical constitution which derives from the methods of production) are under threat from two separate groups of antagonists. These ongoing attacks challenge the past actions and histories that inform the current boundaries and prescribed ingredients. This situation unearths how formerly stable geographies can be re-interpreted to benefit excluded groups.

Chapter VI reveals the Grimsby Traditional Smoked Fish case. The Melton Mowbray and Stilton chapters interrogate producer rationales for the creation of

protected names and investigate the ways in which producers deploy ideas of place, boundaries, history, *terroir*, and authenticity. This section takes a wider and more expansive approach to the study of GI foods. The Grimsby case might best be described as a study of historical geography. I commence by explaining how Grimsby became renowned for its maritime industry. I then contrast the putative difference between styles of smoked fish which the Grimsby producers believe justifies protected status. The emphasis on the production process suggests that 'Grimsby' is protected because of the specific smoking procedure. This extends our understanding of how place is used and it will become apparent that this case quite differently applies this idea from the ways in the previous two chapters. Protected status is habitually regarded as positive so it is appropriate to identify potential disadvantages. I explain how the unyielding promotion of tradition may negatively affect the smokers' commercial potential. I posit that the smokers' skills have helped to develop a type of 'industrial' ambience. The broader aspects of this case demonstrate that several important socio-political factors are 'concealed' in the production of PGI fish. The relationship between Grimsby and Iceland reveals past, present, and possibly future events which – at first glance – appear unrelated to traditional smoked fish. I detail how the 'Cod Wars' of the 1970s have impacted the contemporary smoked fish trade and analyse why the recent financial crisis – a process normally confined to neat boxes entitled 'speculation', 'globalisation', or 'neo-liberalism' – affected the smokers' operational model. Finally, I surmise how the smokers might be harmed if – or more likely when – Iceland joins the EU and is forced to abide by the Common Fisheries Policy (CFP).

Chapter VII concludes this thesis with a look at the ideas generated by my research. The three overarching themes depicted in my research questions (provided at the end of Chapter II) interrogate the rationales for the acquisition of protected status, analyse the way in which constructions of place and boundaries have been used to create and defend geographically-based foods, and unveil notions of authenticity that appeal to particular ideas of place and tradition. I consider the conceptual contributions that I have sought to make and centralise how GI promoters inconsistently apply the geographical concepts that permeate this thesis. I suggest reforms that could enhance the geographical precision of the PFN structure and note that the rapid expansion of the GI model necessitates an in-depth investigation of the mechanisms by which its supporters apply ideas of geography.

The GI system currently operates in an expansionary mode. The creation of numerous newly-protected foods and drinks will allow in-place producers to acquire

control over a wide swathe of currently unprotected geographical place-names. The issues I have explored in this introductory chapter suggest that – before the GI model is expanded yet further – the ways in which its supporters articulate and deploy key geographical tenets surely demand a sustained critical analysis. The next chapter will begin this process with a review of the literature which allows me to situate my detailed study of these place-based foods and drinks.

Chapter II

From Champagne to Tjukkmjolk:²⁸ The Protection of 'Traditional, Local, and Authentic' Food and Drink.

I. Indications of Geography?

A powerful regulatory system of Geographical Indications (GIs) may initially sound unproblematic. Its supporters argue that the characteristics of a defined place directly affect the quality of the food or drink created therein and that the geographical names of products long created in specific locations should be protected from 'counterfeiting' by out-of-place competitors. However, a more cautious reading of the GI schematic may destabilise this taken-for-granted perspective and reveal a number of issues that will undoubtedly cause geographers some significant concern. How, for example, is it possible to so neatly define place? Are there really overt differences in the physical constitution of each territory? What is the definition of 'local' production? What are traditional methods of production and how can they survive in the modern era? Are place-based foods and drinks 'authentic'? It will become evident that those who support GIs possess entirely different attitudes to scholars who wish to critically unveil the geographical constructions on which this system is founded.

This thesis will subject the GI system to a penetrating assessment. This aim will be achieved through the case studies set out in the next chapter. Here I begin with an historical overview of the international Intellectual Property (IP) regime before outlining the EU Protected Food Names (PFN) scheme. I then consider the evolving concept of *terroir* and detail the physical, human, and even 'spiritual' components that have gradually been developed by supporters of this nebulous yet marketable construct. All models of *terroir* operate through places which are legally delineated from one another although the debatable manner by which this occurs is revealed by the Champagne case. I next articulate the argument that control over a territory can provide monopoly rents. It appears that a viable marketing strategy must promote the singularity of place and product to achieve this goal. I then turn towards the ambiguous notion of authenticity and the position it occupies within milieus of so-called 'alternative' and 'local' production. My reading of the literature then leads to the research questions. This chapter commences by situating the contemporary GI system as the outcome of its historical legal structure.

²⁸ A thick sour milk from north-east Norway produced in mountainous regions near Røros.

II. The Evolution of Geographical Indications.

The application of law forms societal norms and conventionalises certain perspectives. It is argued (Delaney, 2001; Martin and Scherr, 2005; Martin *et al.*, 2009; Braverman, 2011) that law should not be simply regarded as a pre-existing structure but rather as a social construct that has been created, maintained, and expanded based on the influence of historic and current political economies. Bronwyn Parry (2002: 684) argues that “although all forms of law are cultural constructs, law-making and legal interpretations are rarely understood as subjective processes, but rather as normative ones informed and structured by a 'deep' logic and rationality and underpinned by a set of underlying principles that are universally shared.” IP scholars Christopher May and Susan Sell (2006: 16) concur with this diagnosis and reject such “distinctions between the technically legal and the political, between the definitional and the realm of public policy.” They prefer instead to “situate the law of intellectual property in the international political economy.” Laws are disseminated by culturally-specific channels to those who serve as its consuming audience. The collective principles that have been created by international IP treaties provide holders of intangible property with the legal right to protect their innovations. These legal rules allow and encourage the creation of economic monopolies. The work performed by lawyers, scientists, and regulators has required substantial effort. The GI system evolved from previous legislation and it thus should be positioned as the outcome of past negotiations.

The first of the three²⁹ major world IP treaties (Cotton, 2007; Okediji, 2007) was the Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property (1883). It prohibits “all goods unlawfully bearing a trademark or trade name [which] shall be seized on importation into those countries of the Union [created by the Convention] where such mark or trade name is entitled to legal protection.”³⁰ The Convention remains in existence and has currently been ratified by 174 countries. The second regulation – the Agreement for the Repression of False or Deceptive Indications of Source on Goods (1891) known as 'The Madrid Agreement' – states that “all goods bearing a false or deceptive indication by which one of the countries to which this Agreement applies, or a place situated therein, is directly or indirectly indicated as being the country or place of

²⁹ Another less significant international treaty was the Stresa Convention of 1951 which is formally known as the International Convention on the Use of Appellations of Origin and Denominations of Cheese. It has been ratified by Austria, Denmark, France, Italy, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland.

³⁰ Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property (1883) (amended 1979) Article 10 Section 1.

origin shall be seized on importation into any of the said countries.”³¹ This is known as 'passing off' and occurs when the developers of one product 'pass it off' as a more prestigious good.³² The Madrid Agreement has only been ratified by 35 states. The third mechanism was the Lisbon Agreement for the Protection of Appellations of Origin and their International Registration (1958) which defines 'appellations of origin' to mean “the geographical denomination of a country, region, or locality, which serves to designate a product originating therein, the quality or characteristics of which are due exclusively or essentially to the geographical environment, including natural and human factors.”³³ This treaty – with its focus on appellations rather than indications of source – is considerably more reliant on the invocation of geography than its predecessors. Protection is stringent and genuine goods are “ensured against any usurpation or imitation, even if the true origin of the product is indicated or if the appellation is used in translated form or accompanied by terms such as 'kind', 'type', 'make', 'imitation', or the like.”³⁴ Interestingly, despite (or perhaps due to) its progression from broad indications of source towards more specific appellations of origin, the Lisbon Agreement is the least popular of the three treaties as it has been ratified by a mere 27 members.

The modern GI system was codified by the World Trade Organization (WTO) Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property (TRIPS) treaty ratified in 1995 (Evans, 2006; Geuze, 2009; Kireeva and O'Connor, 2010). This wide-ranging treaty covers patents, copyright, trademarks, industrial design, and even new plant varieties (Dutfield and Suthersanen, 2005). This 'Western' system of knowledge therefore applies to WTO members as diverse as Angola, Brazil, China, Denmark, Estonia, Fiji, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, and India (Burkitt, 2001; Ismail and Fakir, 2004). Participants are obligated to challenge goods that claim false origin defined as “the use of any means in the designation or presentation of a good that indicates or suggests that the good in question originates in a geographical area other than the true place of origin in a manner which misleads the public as to the geographical origin of the good.”³⁵ This targets both overt counterfeiting (Shears, 2010) and more subtle forms of trickery such as labelling 'sparkling wine' *Methode Champenoise* without specifically claiming it is 'Champagne'. The ratification of TRIPS confirms that the place of production is regarded as economically valuable because this treaty states that foods and drinks

³¹ Agreement for the Repression of False or Deceptive Indications of Source on Goods (1891) (amended 1958) Article 1 Section 1.

³² A British example is the Chocosuisse case where the Swiss Chocolate Union accused Cadbury of passing its chocolate off as 'Swiss' (Saunders, 2001).

³³ Lisbon Agreement for the Protection of Appellations of Origin and their International Registration (1958) (amended 1979) Article 2 Section 1.

³⁴ Lisbon Agreement Article 3.

³⁵ Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Part II Section 3 Article 22 Paragraph 2 (a).

which are created in particular locations have positive characteristics that products from other areas cannot possess (Broude, 2004). This legislation indicates that internal producers should be protected from 'out-of-place' competitors who wish to brand their foods and drinks with the same geographical name. TRIPS asserts that these external producers are free-riding³⁶ on the reputation of producers of geographically 'authentic' goods which emanate from defined localities.

The GI components of TRIPS are powerful as they protect the geographical names of wines and spirits even when deception is not intended (Addor and Grazioli, 2005). A British example was *Tattinger vs. Allbey* (the 'Elderflower Champagne Case') of 1993³⁷ where the court ruled that Allbey could not define their beverage as 'elderflower champagne' because genuine 'Champagne' could only be produced in the Champagne region of France. The British court stated that the continued use of 'elderflower Champagne' "would be to demolish [dilute] the distinctiveness of the word Champagne, [which] would inevitably damage the goodwill of the Champagne houses" (Nair and Kumar, 2005: 74). There was no attempt to mislead consumers because it is obvious that 'elderflower' is not 'Champagne'. TRIPS does not, however, currently provide foods with the same high level of protection which concerns many GI owners.³⁸ Qualifiers ('kind', 'type', 'style', and 'imitation') are permitted (Lang, 2006; Vittori, 2010) which allows, for example, 'American-style Parma Ham'. This two-tier system of protection suggests that wines are more intimately connected to their place of origin than foods.

All national or supra-national GI systems must comply with TRIPS. The EU achieved this with Regulation 2081/92 entitled the Protection of Geographical Indications and Designations of Origins for Agricultural Products and Foodstuffs (1992).³⁹ This legislation created Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) and Protected

³⁶ Free-riders exploit – usually lawfully – the previous efforts of companies or individuals that have created a stable system. In this case they will use a geographical name with an established positive reputation.

³⁷ This case occurred before TRIPS was ratified but the principle remains the same.

³⁸ The best example is that of oriGIN (the Organization for an International Geographical Indications Network) comprises of approximately 350 GI producers and functions as an international lobbying body which seeks equal TRIPS protection for foods.

³⁹ The US' sceptical attitude towards the European GI model (Hayes *et al.*, 2005) is noted by their complaint to the WTO's Dispute Settlement Mechanism about the EU system (Charlier and Ngo, 2007; Marette *et al.*, 2007; Ilbert and Petit, 2009). The US claimed, in 2003, that the EU discriminated against non-EU nations because Regulation 2081/92 insisted that every "third country is able to give guarantees identical or equivalent to those referred to [for EU countries and] the third country concerned has inspection arrangements equivalent to those laid down [for EU countries]." (Council Regulation (EEC) No 2081/92 of 14 July 1992 on the Protection of Geographical Indications and Designations of Origin for Agricultural Products and Foodstuffs Article 12 Section 1.) The WTO ruled that the EU had failed to comply with its TRIPS obligations due to the treatment of countries from outside the EU. The EU replaced Regulation 2081/92 with Regulation 510/2006 (which is very similar to Regulation 2081/92 and I therefore refer throughout this thesis to the original legislation) but which allows non-EU countries to register their foods in the EU.

Geographical Indication (PGI) foods, drinks, and agricultural products. Regulation 2081/92 was enacted three years before TRIPS but must still comply with the WTO system. The EU appealed to a number of justifications⁴⁰ to legitimise this IP structure. These included an economic rationale (farmers could potentially charge higher prices), cultural desires (the protection of place-based food specificities particularly in rural regions), and consumer protection needs (purchasers are informed about the origin of their foods and conditions of production) (Profeta *et al.*, 2009).⁴¹ The EU PFN legislation resulted from a compromise between the French Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée (AOC) system (Marie-Vivien, 2010) which promotes the 'natural' characteristics of place and the German legal system which protects goods with a positive reputation. The AOC was the dominate influence although the inclusion of reputation became necessary to satisfy the German government. The German system protects goods that have no 'natural' *terroir* (Gangjee, 2012). This leads IP scholar Dev Gangjee (2006a: 300-301) to argue that, in Germany, “the specific purpose of protection [of a GI] consists in preventing producers [...] from wrongfully exploiting the actual or even merely potential reputation of that designation [between product and place]. To that end, the existence of a direct link between the qualities of the product and its origin cannot therefore be regarded as an essential condition of protection.” This Germanic influence means that producers can acquire PFN status without reference to the environment in which the product is made. This demonstrates that the PFN structure derived from two very different political, cultural, and historical legal systems.

PDOs – as mentioned in Chapter I – must have a substantial connection to the place of production as “the quality or characteristics of which are essentially or exclusively due to a particular geographical environment with its inherent natural and human factors, and the production, processing and preparation of which take place in the defined geographical area.” The link between land and putative outcome for PGIs is considerably weaker as each needs only “possess a specific quality, reputation or other characteristics attributable to that geographical origin and the production and / or processing and / or preparation of which take place in the defined geographical area.”⁴² PDOs therefore appeal to the 'natural' environment and can be considered 'French' while PGIs with their focus on reputation should be viewed as 'German'. A third type of

⁴⁰ A similar national attempt to support place-based food producers was England's Regional Food Strategy which – according to Matthew Gorton and Angela Tregear (2008: 1049-1050) – aimed to create jobs and prosperity in local communities, retain capital in local economies, allow farmers to diversify into added-value products, and conserve the rural landscape.

⁴¹ Council Regulation 2081/92 Preamble.

⁴² Council Regulation 2081/92 Article 2 Section 2a and 2b.

certification is known as Traditional Speciality Guaranteed (TSG).⁴³ Each TSG has a “specific character’ [which] shall mean the feature or set of features which distinguishes an agricultural product or a foodstuff clearly from other similar products or foodstuffs belonging to the same category.”⁴⁴ TSGs are not geographical and their producers are often spread throughout a country. They are awarded provided that the style of production is ostensibly traditional.

The PDO, PGI, and TSG logos denote that the producers of specific foods and drinks have been awarded protection by the state. The certification process (McEwan and Bek, 2009; Baird and Quastel, 2011) has been elucidated by Elizabeth Barham (2003: 129) who explains that labels of origin “hold the potential of re-linking production to the social, cultural and environmental aspects of particular places, further distinguishing them from anonymous mass produced goods, and opening the possibility of increased responsibility to place.” These types of logo function as a values-based form of label (Barham, 2002; Banks *et al.*, 2007; Guthman, 2007) whose designers suggest notions of place and authenticity. This situation is described by Angela Tregear *et al.* (2007: 12) – in their investigation of protected foods and rural development – as “a territorially based qualification or certification scheme, which defines standards of production and supply that are beneficial to the socio-economic status of the area, signalled clearly to buyers by means of a mark or brand.” The certification is owned and managed by the state and is thus ‘independent’ of self-interested private businesses. Olga Kravets and Örsan Öрге (2010: 217) explain that the GOST standards⁴⁵ (state regulations) of the former USSR – which have continued in post-Soviet times – are attractive to Russian consumers because “a Soviet GOST [...] is seen as external to the interests of a company, and is thus an objective guarantor of quality.” The PDO and PGI symbols are also state-mandated displays of qualification which can be attractive to knowledgeable purchasers who may be sceptical about the impartiality of privately-created certification schemes.

The initial British attitude towards protected foods was articulated in the *British Food Journal* by Marjorie Thienes (1994: 9) who suggested that the lesson for traders that “sell products under traditional or even new appellations of geographic origin has to be that these appellations [PDO and PGI] add valuable goodwill to their business, and that traders should seek protection of these valuable names.” This potential was marred, however, by the unpalatable menu served to British policy-

⁴³ TSGs were formerly known as Certificates of Special Character (CSC).

⁴⁴ Council Regulation No 2082/92 of 14 July 1992 on Certificates of Specific Character for Agricultural Products and Foodstuffs Article 2 Paragraph 1.

⁴⁵ GOST means *Gosudarstvenniyi Standart* (state standard) of quality.

makers. Hundreds of local foods in France, Italy, and Spain had already been granted Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée, Denominazione di Origine Controllata, and Denominación de Origen accolades under their national protection schemes. Such foods could be (and were) swiftly awarded PDO or PGI status. Successive British governments, by comparison, had never bothered to create a national GI scheme and their efforts were restricted to two piecemeal laws which protected Scotch Whisky (1988)⁴⁶ and Harris Tweed (1993).⁴⁷

The lack of a national place-based foods scheme derives from the historical homogenisation of British food production. This was due to the legacy of the national transport system – canals, toll roads, and extensive railway networks – which promoted rural to urban migration and worked against the specificity of local food. These factors combined with successive agricultural and industrial revolutions, the centralisation of food production during both World Wars, and substantial post-War rationing to further deny the UK a local food base (Mason and Brown, 1999). Brian Ilbery and Moya Kneafsey (2000c: 319) – in one of the first geographical works to focus on the then-nascent PFN scheme – explain that “the regional distinctiveness of products and consumption habits in the UK were pulverized during the Industrial Revolution into a 'placeless foodscape'.” Angela Tregear's (2003: 96) analysis of food and rural development associates the British industrial epoch “with standardisation, mechanization, intensification, and the application of new discoveries in science and engineering to land cultivation: forces militating against the existence of small-scale, artisanal, territorially differentiated agriculture.”

This dearth of interest in local food is indicated by the opprobrium directed towards Laura Mason during her attempt to compile a directory of place-based British foods in the late 1990s.⁴⁸ She writes (1999: 19) that “hostility existed, official and personal to the very idea of the investigation [and] there was a wilful obscurantism of many British people when thinking of food as more than a daily necessity – that its existence might reflect other patterns and values than today's income [status] or biological survival.” Food was perceived by Mason's informants as a mere fuel devoid of transcendental values. This appears the antithesis of Erick Castellanos and Sara Bergstresser's (2006) Italian experience which reveals the exceptionally close

⁴⁶ The Act has been amended by the more stringent Scotch Whisky Regulations (2009). This ensures that only whisky which is produced and blended in Scotland can lawfully be called 'Scotch Whisky'.

⁴⁷ The Act (Part III 7 (a)) defines Harris Tweed as “a tweed which has been hand woven by the islanders at their homes in the Outer Hebrides, finished in the islands of Harris, Lewis, North Uist, Benbecula, South Uist and Barra and their several purtenances (The Outer Hebrides) and made from pure virgin wool dyed and spun in the Outer Hebrides.”

⁴⁸ This was the EU-funded *Euroterroirs* project which created a list of local foods in each EU state.

associations that Italian local food devotees have to their regions. However, I doubt that Mason would today receive the same frostiness. A number of foods she describes in *Traditional Foods of Britain: An Inventory* – which include Abroath Smokies, Jersey Royal Potatoes, Isle of Man Loaghtan Lamb, Melton Mowbray Pork Pies, Stilton Cheese, and Swaledale Cheese – were or have subsequently become protected names.

I have now documented the technical process by which the international GI system evolved and how the EU – and, by extension, the UK – version of this scheme came into existence. The producers of each GI operate in a defined place which is mapped to establish its borders. It might be thought that a scheme predicated on geographical delimitations must demand a level of commonality within the boundaries to guarantee that the physical conditions are distinct from those in external areas. The concept which connects place and outcome is known in the wine trade as *terroir* and will shortly be explored. First, however, I detail the theory developed by Parry (2008) on the ways in which the *terroir* concept is informed by notions of environmental determinism that were coming into fruition in the early 20th century at a time when the AOC system was beginning to evolve.

III. Environmental Determinism and Models of *Terroir*.

An expansive definition of *terroir* includes topography (the surface features of a place), pedology (physical and chemical characteristics of the soil), flora, underlying rock types, steepness, hydrology (soil-water relations), climate, precipitation, sunlight per surface area, and levels of frost. This definition focuses on the physical territory and suggests that particular places have unique features that help to produce goods of extraordinary quality. This idea connects with the notion of environmental determinism. Parry (2008) reveals that this theory was initially popularised in Germany by Friedrich Ratzel in the late 19th century and was made internationally famous by his American disciple Ellen Churchill Semple whose *Influences of Geographical Environment* (1911) provided a 'scientific' justification for European colonial expansion and American imperialism. Richard Peet's (1985: 314) history of environmental determinism reveals that its application involved the 'survival of the fittest' doctrine as “older societies disappeared or were amalgamated as they became unable to compete with younger, more dynamic, more aggressive societies.” By 1900, environmental determinism had become the dominant paradigm in Western geographical thought. Ratzel and Semple believed that the physical environment determined character which meant, for example, that Northern Europeans were

energetic while Southern Europeans were emotional. Semple (1911: 11) insisted that “the geographic element in the long history of human development has been operating strongly and operating persistently. It never sleeps. This natural environment, this physical basis of history, is for all intents and purposes immutable in comparison with the other factor in the problem – shifting, plastic, progressive, retrogressive man.” This claim suggests that people are defined by the unique qualities of their places of residence.

GIs were introduced during this period. The use of place-based histories – the assertion that a product has become exceptional through natural selection – is the conceptual basis of the GI system. Claims of environmental determinism occur through the theory of *terroir*. Geographers often study *terroir* because the idea is based on a belief that land influences outcome and thus connects to physical, cultural, and economic factors of production and consumption (Dougherty, 2012).⁴⁹ John Dickenson (1990) – introducing the first issue of the *Journal of Wine Research* – is keen to stress that geographers are perfectly positioned to investigate viticultural territories.⁵⁰ *Terroir* will be first explained through an analysis of wine production as viticulturalists have argued that each of the approximately 10,000 subspecies of *Vitis vinifera* (wild grapevine) grow best in defined locations (Unwin, 2012). Barham (2003: 131) defines this French construct as “refer[ing] to an area or terrain, usually rather small, whose soil and micro-climate impart distinctive qualities to food products. The word is particularly closely associated with the production of wine. A *terroir* can be identified, for example, as one that produces a *grand cru*,⁵¹ or a particularly excellent wine. It can also be said that a certain wine has a *goût*, or taste, of its particular *terroir*.” Agricultural economist Tim Josling (2006: 338) more forcefully describes *terroir* as “the essential link between the location in which a food or beverage is produced and its quality or other consumer attributes.” Hugh Johnson (2001: 7) – author of *The World Atlas of Wine* – claims that “one of wine's special qualities is its proven ability to reflect accurately the environment in which it was grown. Man can do his utmost to take control, but nature is ultimately in charge.” Amy Trubek (2008: 18) explains that in France “historical documents, government treatises, and contemporary conversation, everyone – be they journalists, farmers, vintners, bureaucrats, chefs, or citizens – does not adopt a point of view. Instead they consider *terroir* and *goût du terroir* to reflect reality.”

⁴⁹ To support his argument he notes that the Association of American Geographers (AAG) created a Wine Speciality Group in 1998.

⁵⁰ Dickenson himself was based in the Department of Geography at the University of Liverpool.

⁵¹ A *grand cru* wine is the highest level of the AOC classification.

However, this emphasis on physical *terroir* has become increasingly controversial. Wine scholar Roger Bohmrich (1996: 33) suggests that “*terroir* would seem to be comparatively innocent, yet it has become a lightning rod for opposing and often passionately held views in the classic and new worlds of wine. In the limited, traditional sense, *terroir* encompasses all the innate, immutable features of the natural environment from sunshine, rainfall and temperature to the slope, orientation, altitude, and soil composition.” His use of 'innate' and 'immutable' suggests that each place has possessed its unique physical composition for epochs. Emmanuelle Vaudour (2002: 119-121) more expansively explains that *terroir* can consist of 'nutriment' (the measurable properties of the land), 'space' (the relationship between the settled community and place), 'conscience' (cultural and mythological renderings of a particular area), 'slogan' (used for marketing purposes), 'quality' (taste and value for money), and 'typicality' (“a special quality of a food product, with specific organoleptic⁵² characteristics, theoretically originating in a given production-space and not reproducible in any other production-space”). These multiple descriptions suggest that *terroir* can be whatever its creators desire. This might include a 'scientific' account of the local geology which consists of a number of arbitrarily selected variables, the invocation of particular traditions in-place, or some kind of mystical approach that privileges a 'spiritual' link between place and product.

These ambiguities lead geologist Alex Maltman (2008: 1) to assert that “geology does underpin some of the physical parameters that affect wine performance, but in an indirect way and the factors are commonly manipulated artificially. A direct geochemical influence on wine flavour is widely inferred but remains undemonstrated.” He sagely notes (2008: 10) that “the wines of Priorat, [in south-west] Spain, are sometimes reported to taste and even smell of graphite, even though this insoluble carbon polymorph⁵³ has no taste or odour. It cannot be coincidence that most tasters are probably aware that Priorat is founded on unusual schists⁵⁴ that are rich in graphite.” Legal scholar Justin Hughes (2006: 360) claims that wine-making is supposedly predicated on geographical specificity as “many northern California vintners have studied soil and slope characteristics to the point of dividing individual vineyards into 'flavor blocks', i.e. miniature *terroirs* that are viticulated differently. This practice is undoubtedly good for superior winemaking and husbandry of the land, but undermines any consistent uniqueness to the AVA [American Viticultural Area]⁵⁵ as a whole.” Bohmrich (1996: 40) rhetorically enquires: “How do we explain the subtle but

⁵² The aspects of a food or drink (taste, appearance, and texture) that can be appreciated by the senses.

⁵³ A polymorph is an element that can exist in more than one crystal form. Pure carbon, for example, can exist as diamond or graphite.

⁵⁴ A large group of coarse-grained metamorphic rocks which readily split into thin plates.

noticeable variations in wines from the same region and variety? Or, to focus the question more narrowly, how do we account for the organoleptic differences that experienced tasters recognise in wines from the same commune and vintage in Bordeaux?" The answer must surely be that physical *terroir* is always inconsistent.

This scepticism allows Warren Moran (1993b: 695),⁵⁶ in his study of French wine appellations, to suggest that "we approach here the fundamental problems posed by the distinctive origin of the *grand crus* and of all quality viticulture: original physical determinism or careful and costly human creation." He regards (1993b: 701) an unquestioning approach to the study of *terroir* to be problematic because "in all wine regions, the physical environmental attributes of the defined territory have been liberally and uncritically transferred to the wine made there" and thus "physical attributes of the territory are translated into the reasons for the quality of the wine that they define." The extent to which 'natural' *terroir* is able to determine the quality of alcoholic beverages therefore appears debatable despite wine-makers' claims that famous names like Bordeaux, Burgundy, and Champagne are unreplicable outside their precisely defined territories. The claim that 'natural' *terroir* is entirely responsible for exceptional outcomes has been challenged by winemakers who migrated to the New World.⁵⁷ A famous example occurred at the 'Judgement of Paris' in May 1976 at which the most distinguished French oenophiles⁵⁸ gathered for a series of blind tastings to sample the finest French and Californian wines. Wine experts assumed that French *terroir* and tradition would reign supreme. The wine industry was therefore shocked when Californian wines were awarded first prize in both red and white categories. The result suggests that *terroir* was less 'factual' than assumed. The dispute between Old and New World producers is – according to Bohmrich (1996: 44) – less about the wine itself and more about the market as "on one side are 'terroirists' with a vested interest who wield the concept as a weapon on the world market to assert that European classics are infinitely superior and will always remain so. On the other side, modernists reject what they perceive as bogus scientific arguments which serve to perpetuate a marketing advantage." Bohmrich's point is that producers present *terroir* as a legitimate scientific analysis rather than a cultural phenomenon. This position accords with Bruno Latour's (1987) distinction between 'science' and 'non-science'. He notes that non-scientific factors affect the outcome of science. A catchy advertising

⁵⁵ An AVA is the federal name of a wine-growing region. These areas range from 16,640,000 acres for Ohio River Valley (which is spread across Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, and West Virginia) to 150 acres for Cole Ranch (California) (Elliot-Fisk, 2012).

⁵⁶ Quoting Gadille (1967).

⁵⁷ New World wines primarily derive from Argentina, Australia, Chile, New Zealand, South Africa, and the US.

⁵⁸ Oenophiles are professional wine-tasters who have a devoted and scholarly appreciation of their craft.

campaign, for example, is not 'scientific' but might convince its audience that a particular theory has been 'impartially' determined to be correct. Latour believes that there is no 'inside' and 'outside' between the 'laboratory' of science and the external world. The 'science' of GIs – the supposed connection between place and quality via *terroir* – is sustained by 'non-scientists' like politicians, lawyers, regulators, producers, inspection bodies, consumers, and the media.

More recent academic approaches to the study of *terroir* have created a hybridised model which integrates both natural and human factors. Tim Unwin⁵⁹ (2012: 43) indicates that the conceptual migration towards human manipulation of 'natural' outcomes has “gradually led to a belief that the most important factor differentiating wines was the skills of the winemaker rather than the environment in which the grapes were grown.” Daniel Gade (2004: 865), in his investigation of Cassis wine production in southern France, agrees that “wine is too complex to be able to derive a simplistic causation from the climate or soils of a particular *terroir*. Elevation of environmental factors in the popular mindset to account for wine character and quality is testimony to the tenaciousness of deterministic thinking. Much *terroir*-based explanation reflects the partitioned mind-set that presupposes 'human' factors as separate from 'physical' factors.” Moran (2001: 1) asserts that “the wines of Burgundy (or rather some of them) are great wines because over centuries people learned how to select the varieties and clones, viticultural and winemaking methods, to express their environment in their wines.” He therefore argues that producers articulate the extant environmental conditions. Jake Hancock (1999) – reviewing geologist James Wilson's influential book *Terroir* (1998) – claims that Wilson fails to acknowledge important human influences such as the mechanics of canopy management, variations in harvest times and their effects on sugar-acid ratios, use of different species of yeast, and varied types of storage container. Hancock claims that these absences afford the physical component of *terroir* with excessive significance.⁶⁰

The majority of the *terroir* literature is about wine. This is because – as Moran (1993a: 275) notes – “for few other products it is possible to argue plausibly that the natural and physical environments are clearly represented in the final product.” There has been trenchant criticism of the *terroir* claimed for wine even though it is widely thought that products of the vine have the strongest connection to land. However,

⁵⁹ Unwin, a geographer, is the current editor of *The Journal of Wine Research*.

⁶⁰ Hancock (1999: 43) – in one of the more politically incorrect statements ever to grace a professional journal – describes *terroir* as a concept which “has features so characteristic of second-class French thinkers: a combination of the obvious (the quality of a plant depends on where you grow it) and the mystical.”

Ramona Tueber (2009: 134) – in her study of Honduran coffee – states that the *terroir* concept can be extended to this beverage because “the results of these [scientific] studies suggest that major determinants of [coffee] cup quality are altitude, rainfall, soil type, shading, varieties, harvesting and post-harvesting processes.” These are the same kinds of inputs recorded by devotees of wine *terroir*. Further, anthropologist Heather Paxson (2010b: 444) – whose specialism is the study of unpasteurised cheese – reveals that American cheese-makers employ an expansive construction of *terroir* whose production process is a “congealed taskscape [which] could encompass pasture-lands whose flora are selected by ruminant grazing and human management; practices of animal husbandry; ambient micro-organisms, directly or indirectly selected for by hygiene practices, that make their way into cheese; and recipes and artisan methods of making cheese.” These examples suggest that *terroir* can be applied to non-wine products like coffee and cheese whose raw ingredients apparently have an integral connection to the land. Coffee plants grow in a variety of soils and climates while cheese is made from the milk of ruminants (like cows, goats, and sheep) which graze on pastures with varied *terroirs* (Farmer, 2011). The extension of this model to foods which derive entirely from human skills (like bakery products) will determine how far the *terroir* concept can be broadened.

The final aspect of *terroir* is that of an 'ideological', 'spiritual', or 'identity-forming' type. Vaudour (2002: 118) states that *terroir* can indicate a “figurative meaning: a rural and provincial land in which there is a distinct native people with their own personality or spirit.” Barham (2003: 131) explains that “*terroir* can also designate a rural or provincial region that is considered to have a marked influence on its inhabitants. It is said in France, for example, that certain customs or idioms are rooted in their *terroir*, or that a person strongly conveys a sense of the *terroir* of their birth and upbringing. This concept of *terroir* relates to a time of much less spatial mobility when change occurred at a slower pace.” This view associates *terroir* with one's *racines* (roots), *sentir le terroir* (the qualities of where one was born), and *patrimoine* (the preservation of the past for the benefit of future generations) (Douguet and O'Connor, 2003). These ideas are informed by an environmentally deterministic worldview because producers claim that human skills derive from and are enclosed within specific places. It may be surprising that this old-fashioned idea is applied in today's globalised context. Johnson (2001: 4), the professional wine writer, goes even further and describes *terroir* as “the whole ecology of the vineyard: every aspect of its surroundings from bedrock to late frosts to autumn mists, not excluding the way the vineyard is tended, nor even the soul of the vigneron.” The performance of traditional

methods of production apparently creates an ideological frame in which the 'theology' of the wine-maker 'enters' the liquid. This conception allows *terroir* to integrate with local cultural belief structures. In Hawaii, for example, *terroir* is promoted with reference to the *āina* – a term that reflects indigenous native culture and imagines the land as a mechanism for sustenance (Costa and Besio, 2011). *Terroir* is therefore culturally specific and has different meanings which are dependent on place.

Terroir is popularly considered to be particularly important to the French psyche. It is a mechanism that is believed to represent local and national identity. Kolleen Guy (2011: 468) explains that it is “the residue of a way of life remote from the assembly-line and tasteless food production. In this idealised world, producers have cultural capital to offer to consumers, since they have inherited and passed on to us a distillate of wisdom about plants and animals. A *savoir-vivre* in a place, embedded in the timeless, conflict-less, eternal, imaginary landscape of rural France.” This suggests that *terroir* is an ideological model which is mobilised to convey images of a lost world rather than something based on a genuine physical foundation. This perspective does not so much reject scientific *terroir* as sidestep it in favour of a romantic ascientific perspective. This notion encapsulates all the stereotypes of *terroir* but whether its 'French-ness' can be successfully transported to the UK (or to any of the 'Anglo' countries) is unclear. Gangjee (2012) moves away from an environmentally deterministic attitude to trace the genesis of *terroir* to post-revolutionary France whose new government wanted to create a national identity based on shared values and symbols. Identity, gastronomy, culinary heritage, and landscape merged with place to form and solidify the new France. This type of process is described by Ian Cook and Philip Crang (1996: 137) as one based on “constructed associations between foods, places, and peoples, associations epitomized in conceptions of national, regional, and local identities.”

The Champagne case of the 1860s can usefully detail how such identity-forming processes began. The entire region became infested with *phylloxera* – aphid-like parasites which feed on the sap of grapevines and cause deformations that eradicate the vines' supply of water and nutrients – which dramatically reduced output. The restricted supply of Champagne allowed unscrupulous merchants to perniciously claim their inferior produce was genuine Champagne. This mendacity understandably enraged deceived wine aficionados. Genèvieve Teil (2010: 255), in her study of AOC certification, explains that “the *phylloxera* crisis destroyed many vineyards in the late 19th century, and during which producers sold and consumers bought all sorts of drinks

called 'wine' [and so] a number of measures were introduced to protect consumers from unscrupulous sellers, and producers of good quality wines from the consumers' lack of ability to discriminate quality.” This deception and subsequent consumer protection rationale led to the laws of 1905 and 1911 which articulated the boundaries for Champagne and other respected wines and spirits and introduced at a national level the idea that quality is predicated on the conditions of a defined territory. However, the demarcation of specific regions – while often based on areas which shared similar geographical features – at times was negotiated into being for political reasons. Gangjee (2008a: 390) claims that “appellation regions were often born out of compromises between administrative delimitations, geographically homogeneous regions and historical areas of production” and maintains (2012: 99) that “establishing boundary limits was not simply based on geological or geographical criteria but was a politically charged process. This development severely undermined the proposition that the system was based on distinct geographical regions whose natural conditions deterministically influence and thereby guarantee quality.” Teil concurs (2010: 256) that “as every producer had an interest in belonging to a quality area, the signs [AOC status] were said to be 'political' and to reflect the political efficiency of local authorities and interests more than the actual quality of the wines.” The rationale for protection at the dawn of the French GI system was often based on dubious political claims rather than empirical attributes of geography. It undermines the notion that the GI structure has ever been objective.

The Law for the Protection of the Place of Origin was invoked in 1919. The problem with this law, according to Gangjee (2012: 105), was that “by de-emphasising production conditions, vigneron located in a famous region [like Champagne] [...] would technically be able to use an appellation signifying a high quality wine despite using inferior quality, high yield wines or by attempting to grow vines in unsuitable soil within the region.” This suggested that localisation was insufficient to ensure quality as inferior place-based wines were 'authentic' (based on their place of production) but of poor quality (as place alone was unable to ensure a beneficial outcome). This is where methods of production became more important. The AOC designation, established in 1935, regulates both place and methods of production under the auspices of the *Institut National des Appellations d'Origine* (INAO).⁶¹ Teil (2010: 269) argues that the result of AOC legislation is that “few people today see only an undifferentiated product called 'wine' on supermarket or wine cellars' shelves, at wine fairs or on wine estates.” The AOC mark therefore differentiates superior wines from those with a less prestigious

⁶¹ The INAO is now known as the *Institut National de l'Origine et de la Qualité*.

reputation like *Vin D limit  de Qualit  Sup rieure* or *Vin de Pays*.⁶² The prescriptive powers of the INAO have increased over time and now control a surprisingly wide variety of non-alcoholic produce which includes milk, honey, eggs, yoghurt, mineral waters, flowers, fruits, cheeses, spices, meats, cereals, and even cotton.⁶³ This expansion supports the view that there has been a move away from the exclusivity of physical *terroir* which accrues to wine towards a physical-human model that now applies to foods and agricultural goods.

Producers with a professional belief in *terroir* assume it is possible to define a bounded area and that there can be an obvious causative relationship between place and quality. It is not, however, at all clear how these claims to *terroir* can be empirically validated. It does not appear possible to scientifically prove, for example, that conditions within the Champagne area are directly responsible for the outcome. The *terroir* is no doubt beneficial but this does not automatically mean the result is elsewhere unreplicable (as New World wine-makers have proven). This questions whether drawing lines round a desired location then requesting legal protection is an appropriate enrolment of geography. The connection between land and outcome purportedly operates through 'place'. I now turn towards an examination of place, boundaries, and embeddedness in order to interrogate how the creators of local foods understand and use this term.

IV. Place, Production, and Structures of Knowledge.

Tim Cresswell (2004: 11) asserts that place is socially constructed because it “is not so much a quality of things in the world but an aspect of the way we choose to think about it – what we decide to emphasize and what we decide to designate as unimportant.” He continues (2004: 30) to indicate that “to say a place is socially constructed is to say that it is not natural and given that human forces made a place then human forces can equally importantly undo it [which is] to say that the materiality – the very fabric of a place – is a product of society too.” There is no reason why GI places should be exempt from this requirement. This view suggests that protected locations are artificial although their proponents claim they are naturally determined. Chris Philo (2005: 828) describes the interaction between people, places, and things as “the intersecting topologies of life: the multitudinous meetings, the countless nexi of interaction, between the different life-forms co-existing here (principally between

⁶² Wines certified as *Vin D limit  de Qualit  Sup rieure* are considered inferior to AOC beverages but better than those with *Vin de Pays* status.

⁶³ Website: www.inao.gouv.fr

humans and other animals or between humans and plants, but not exclusively).” This suggests that localities should be viewed as sites of intersection and juxtaposition of new and old territories (Blomley, 2005) with complex layered histories, where specificity derives not from essentialism or isolation but from the particularity of the admixture contained therein. This interconnectedness complicates ideas of boundedness as people and objects are not considered 'in' or 'out' of place (Cresswell, 1996). These opinions are situated in opposition to the constructions employed in GI systems. A food or drink cannot come from a specific location if 'place' is not static. Brad Weiss' (2011: 411) investigation of the marketing of North Carolinian pigs reveals that restaurants unambiguously marketed the hogs' 'local' nature and thus “pastured pork may be a critical index of 'locality', [but] these assertions beg the question of how 'place' is established, given the concrete, experiential qualities, through which it is grasped in social practice.” It becomes clear that geographers understand the idea of 'place' in a manner that is different to that of marketers (Molotch, 2002).

The GI system encloses places by defined boundaries. However, the way in which geographers understand boundaries has changed in recent years. This is, in part, as David Newman and Anssi Paasi (1998: 188) suggest, because “the ideas of borders, boundaries, borderlands, border-crossings, and transgressions of borders that the representatives of various disciplines use are increasingly employed in a metaphoric sense so that they do not inevitably refer to the material spaces with which geographers typically deal.” Boundaries are permeable, according to Reece Jones (2009: 180), because “all categories are not pre-given things-in-the-world but, rather, the result of [a] contingent and ongoing process of linking up locations of difference” and (2009: 179) hence “when we are trying to think of the boundaries between categories as open and porous – which, intellectually, we know they are – we tend cognitively to understand categories as closed and bounded containers. Boundaries are never finished or fixed, even if they appear to be, and must be re-fixed and reiterated to reify that perception.” This suggests that people have a psychological need to create boundaries in order to make sense of the world. This attitude conceals a scenario in which ostensibly place-based goods are, in fact, independent of place. Nebahat Tokatli (2012) indicates, for example, that respected clothing brands like Armani and Valentino are made in Eastern Europe and Egypt yet these retailers maintain the illusion that they are wholly Italian.

Champagne exemplifies the very idea of a place-based good and it is therefore useful to analyse how its bounded area was formed and stabilised. Popular opinion is

that the incomparable physical attributes of the Champagne region of north-east France were complemented by indigenous skills which combined to 'naturally' create the protected zone. However, Parry (2008) – in her investigation of this opulent creation – reveals that certain taken-for-granted assumptions are as effervescent as the bubbles in Champagne itself. She argues (2008: 368) that the marketing of Champagne ignores the external foundations on which contemporary production is predicated and asserts that the style of production – *la méthode traditionnelle* – was, in fact, “informed by associations, interactions, and cross-fertilizations between individuals, their scientific techniques and other craft practices, and even organisms and plants, that emanate far from this apparently discreet domain.” Parry details five examples which challenge the notion that Champagne production has always been enclosed in-place. First, the Pinot grapes are not endogenous but were introduced to the region through trade. Second, the airtight cork-stoppers originated from Spanish monks rather than internal technological developments. Third, glass-making techniques derived from entrepreneurs in England instead of the vignerons themselves. Fourth, fermentation systems were developed from researchers at the University of Montpellier rather than in Champagne. Fifth, *phylloxera*-resistant root-stocks were imported from Texas. This means (2008: 372) that “the vines that are now grown in Champagne are not a 'naturally occurring' or 'organic' product of Champagne but rather a scientifically constructed hybrid.” This implies that Champagne should not be considered 'French' because the vines are scions of 'America'. The land and climate may be unique to the bounded area but the 'natural' vines grown therein are far from local.

Doreen Massey (1994: 154-155) maintains that “instead of thinking of places as areas with boundaries around, they can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings, but where a larger proportion of those relations, experiences and understandings are constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself, whether that be a street, or a region or even a continent [and] this in turn allows a sense of place which is extroverted, which includes a consciousness of its links with the wider world, which integrates in a positive way the global and the local.” Massey states that bounding places provides an outmoded and static perspective. However, the owners of GI names map boundaries and prosecute those who use the name while 'out-of-place' yet their use of these prescriptive powers must question how these places were stabilised. The link between boundary-making and product endorsement is crucial as consumers are purchasing place-based products whose positive qualities are believed to unequivocally

derive from the specificity of place. Further, the post 9/11 era has seen a resurgence of boundaries (R. Jones, 2011). These are physical (intrusive border-crossings) and technological (greater surveillance) which thus positions GI boundaries within a wider context that aggressively categorises and segregates.

Embeddedness theory may help to situate the ways in which producers operate inside the protected domain. The sociologist Mark Granovetter (1985) defines embeddedness as the existence of economic actions which originate from a model of social relations that are brought into being within a defined place. He rejects a dichotomy between 'economic' and 'social' conditions of production and consumption. Rather, Granovetter (1985: 487) indicates that actors' "attempts at purposeful [economic] action are instead embedded in concrete, ongoing systems of social relations." This perspective suggests that producers are not solely interested in economic gains. Instead, he notes (1985: 506) that supposedly economic behaviour is aimed "not only at economic goals but also at sociability, approval, status, and power. Economists rarely see such 'irrational' goals as rational." The market, from this perspective, is not separated from society but is fully embedded in culturally-based systems of social norms and values (Zhang, 2012).

This theory suggests that 'embedded' products are more likely to be created for ideological purposes or be designed for experiential reasons. Roger Lee (2006: 417) posits that worth is "life-sustaining [and therefore] not valued merely in terms of economic success but also in terms of social beliefs, objectives, and values." In Lee *et al.*'s (2004: 600) analysis of local currencies, value is both pecuniary and social as "trading [...] has a predominantly communitarian purpose. Engaging in economic activity on a face-to-face basis is seen as a means of reigniting a sense of community within localities." Colin Sage (2003: 47), in his study of 'good food' networks in Ireland, describes embeddedness as a theory which "conveys principles of social connectivity, reciprocity and trust, characteristics which are essential to all forms of economic life in general but which fundamentally underpin grassroots and 'alternative' initiatives." Embeddedness is, no doubt, a term that is difficult to define. If, however, its promoters are supposed to advocate tradition, community, and authenticity, then it appears to have some congruence with the production of geographically specific foods. This is no doubt why food embeddedness has long been a popular research topic (Murdoch, Marsden, and Brooks, 2000; Winter, 2003; Penker, 2006; Sonnino, 2007; Fonte, 2008; Chiffolleau, 2009; Bowen, 2010b; Bowen, 2011; Moragues-Faus and Sonnino, 2012). Carol Morris and James Kirwan (2010: 132), for example, explain that food embeddedness requires "an

espoused attempt, through the retailing process and promotional activities, to make transparent the origins and the ecological conditions of the commodity's production.” PFN producers promote the place from which their foods and drinks originate by foregrounding place-based information. These are the means through which knowledge about the place and social and cultural circumstances of production are transmitted to consumers.

The producers of protected foods appear to use place in a fashion that is the antithesis of the porous approach advocated within the academy. This procedure means that an often-large territory with disparate physical *terroir* can be unashamedly transformed into a neatly delineated area by its newly-acquired protected status. I now turn to the economic aspects of GIs with a specific focus on how exclusive control over a territory can – in theory at least – generate monopoly rents for in-place actors.

V. The Advantage of Place-Based Protection.

The World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) promotes the idea that “geographical indications are understood by consumers to denote the origin and the quality of products. Many of them have acquired valuable reputations which, if not adequately protected, may be misrepresented by dishonest commercial operators. False use of geographical indications by unauthorized parties is detrimental to consumers and legitimate producers. The latter suffer damage because valuable business is taken away from them and the established reputation for their products is damaged.”⁶⁴ This rather partisan attitude assumes that consumers know what GIs are, that geographical names will always have a positive reputation, and that a strongly enforced international GI regime is essential to protect legitimate producers. Rangnekar (2004) describes GIs as 'excludable' and 'non-rivalrous'. They are 'excludable' because producers from outside the bounded area cannot lawfully use the geographical name and nor can manufacturers located inside the protected zone that are unwilling to comply with the obligatory methods of production. GIs are 'non-rivalrous' because any number of producers who comply with the regulation can produce the geographically-named good. There could be thousands of producers of a protected name.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Website: www.wipo.int/geo_indications/en/about.html#whyprotect

⁶⁵ Kees de Roest and Alberto Menghi (2000) note that 7,300 farmers deliver milk to 600 dairies which form the Parmigiano-Reggiano supply chain.

The GI promotes the collective brand rather than an individual company. The applicant group must therefore ensure that its users adhere to consistently high standards defined by the PDO or PGI regulation while it simultaneously must prevent other manufacturers from exploitation of the name by dilution or counterfeiting. GIs are 'club goods' which means that every member of the 'club' is permitted to use the collective name. Each participant's operations therefore affect the other members because all use the same geographical name (Patchell, 2008). Producers must trust one another to form a collective group (and apply for protected status) while an inspection regime⁶⁶ scrutinises their working practices to ensure that trust is based on adherence to the regulation. Quality management for PFNs includes an annual inspection which – alongside the standard health and safety checks – investigates whether each producer is in full compliance with the PDO or PGI. The reputation of the protected name derives from the willingness of each producer to comply as violations made public would jeopardise the brand. Angela Tregear and Matthew Gorton (2009: 834) – in their study of the managerial challenges of shared brands – observe that “there are internal quality management tasks that are important to the enhancement of brand reputation, based on ensuring consistent quality and eradicating opportunistic behaviour.” Jillian Cavanaugh (2007) – in her investigation of salami from Bergamo in northern Italy – reveals that one manufacturer of this regional meat adulterated his production with illicit skimmed milk. Bergamo was not, at that time, a protected name and the honest producers thought that the PFN legal regime would prevent future occurrences of such mendacity.

The economic potential of place-based club goods will only be actualised if the geographical brand names are successfully conveyed to consumers (Lewis and Bridges, 2000; Boyle, 2004; Pike, 2009a; Mettepenningen *et al*, 2012) in a way that evokes positive imagery. Andy Pike (2009b: 641), in his analysis of geographical branding, explains that “brands whose equity and value rely upon strong and deep geographic entanglements as collective and public – rather than individual and private – spatial assets embedded in place and managed by civic associations may sustain quality and contest detachment from place.” This perfectly describes GIs which are place-based IP awarded by the state whose benefits accrue to a collective group of producers. The use of place is an example of Cook and Crang's (1996: 142) explanation of “the extent to which particular kinds of knowledges may be becoming an increasingly dominant strategy in some markets for product differentiation and value addition.” However, the

⁶⁶ The inspection body in the UK may be a County Council or a specialist organisation like the Product Authentication International (PAI) group which inspects a number of PFNs such as Cornish Pasties, Dovedale Cheese, Isle of Man Loaghtan Lamb, Kentish Ale, and Swaledale Cheese.

place of production must signify a positive conception to potential consumers. They must connect geography to outcome. Jostein Vik and Mariann Villa (2010: 156) pinpoint the nuances required to 'sell' place in their investigation of the 'Book Town' of Fjærland in West Norway namely “the need for broadness and inclusiveness to mobilise locally and the need for narrowness and exclusivity to attract attention from the outside world.” PFNs similarly need to be sufficiently special to generate external interest while ideally garnering support from local people (because they employ local workers or encourage tourist income). Morris and Kirwan (2010: 133) question “how and to what extent do the producers of these products use sweeping and ahistorical geographical images, describe the realities of production processes, draw on discursive associations and make recommendations about the location of product use in their promotional efforts?” This rhetoric suggests that place is not 'real' but a simulacrum of an indeterminate antiquity which is made static through use of a formalised history and geography. Similarly, Dimitris Skuras and Efthalia Dimara (2004: 802) – in their investigation of regional image and food consumption – ask “how can a region generate an image when producing a certain agricultural product and food commodity, and which are the regional elements – i.e. regional features and characteristics – that may be used in constructing such an image?”

The employment of place-based images in order to sell geographical foods and drinks is connected to what Jane Hein *et al.* (2006) call the food relocalisation trend. They suggest that agricultural livelihoods can be improved by intensive local food production but that localisation must be 'sold' to consumers to generate rural wealth. They use Cornwall as an example of a county which has a powerful food culture.⁶⁷ Daniel Bell and Gill Valentine (1997: 17) more poetically assert that “the region's character, including that of its producers is literally bottled.” This occurs because – as Gade (2004: 862) indicates – an “appeal to tradition has greatly strengthened the sense of place, which is what most wine buyers appreciate beyond the aroma and flavour of the liquid or its alcohol content” since (2004: 865) “wine is more than an object of sensory refinement and vehicle of socialization. It also contains a part of its essence in place identity, landscape, and history.” The places and histories that provide these essences must incorporate the most marketable ideas which often promote romantic escapism (C. Hall, 1997; Everitt, 2001; Alonso and Northcote, 2009). A partisan history can be used for deterministic perspectives which claim that the land or specific skills has 'always' existed in one form which hence justifies protected status. Olivier Gergaud and Victor Ginsburgh (2008: 144) quote a former Director General of the

⁶⁷ Cornwall has three protected names: Cornish Clotted Cream (PDO), Cornish Pasties (PGI), and Cornish Sardines (PGI).

*Organisation Internationale de la Vigne et du Vin*⁶⁸ who claims that “there is no wine region in our world that does not try to value its vineyards and their output without reference to the character that they inherit from the place where the wine is produced. Consumers who visit producers are particularly sensitive to the beauty of the landscape, to the architecture of the villages and to any other element that belongs to the region of production.” This use of mythology for economic purposes suggests that more than wine is consumed. The character of place appears as important as the taste. This sense of place appears socially constructed by actors who have the power to provide it with meaning. This requires places to be separated from one another as the specificities of place must be fixed in a defined area.

The need to differentiate similar products in a saturated market-place has been explored by Michel Callon *et al.* (2002: 198) who argue that “a good can be defined by a combination of characteristics that establish its singularity. In fact, the selected characteristics can be used to describe other goods with which relations of similitude or proximity are likely to be established. Defining a good means positioning it in a space of goods, in a system of differences and similarities, of distinct yet connected categories.” Singularisation describes the ways in which difference is constructed and publicised. Jason Konefal and Lawrence Busch (2010) note, for example, that the introduction of genetically modified (GM) corn and soybeans not only created a new market for these products but also acted to re-value non-GM crops in a more positive fashion. Products in what Callon calls the 'economy of qualities' are both material and conceptual and therefore the way in which a place-based food is marketed may prove to be as important as the food itself. These products must share certain similarities to allow a comparison to be made. A brand of 'specialist' coffee, for example, single blend, Fairtrade, or organic, is different from instant or blended coffees but all must share sufficient common characteristics to be defined as 'coffee' (Schüßler, 2009). The production of difference for protected foods occurs through packaging (which, by law,⁶⁹ must display the PDO or PGI logo), advertising, media input (reporters have uncritically embraced protected foods), and (more obviously) personal preferences such as taste. Callon (2002) rejects any kind of hierarchisation of the distinctions between such characteristics and refuses to suggest that some differences are objectively more significant than others.

⁶⁸The International Organisation of Vine and Wine is a scientific, technical, and marketing body which seeks to achieve international standards in wine production and promote harmonisation between viticultural producers in different nations.

⁶⁹ This has been mandatory since May 2009. The logo, text, or both must appear on the product label.

Paige West's (2010) investigation of Fairtrade Papua New Guinean coffee identifies how it has been singularised through reference to place (Papua New Guinea) and style of production (Fairtrade). These factors are contrasted with coffees from less 'exotic' places which are presumed to be produced in less 'ethical' ways. A coffee connoisseur concerned by images of displaced tribal people may think that the Guinean coffee improves indigenous sustainability and thus purchase it. Each good is therefore defined through its singularity – the combination of variables that distinguish it from other goods which lack the same admixture. This situation will only function if consumers are aware of such differences. GIs can be compared to non-GIs of the same type but consumers need to know what GI symbols signify and believe that they provide meaningful information.

Rent will be generated (at least theoretically) by GI status as members of the club possess monopoly control over the protected zone (Blackwell, 2007). Rosemary Coombe and Nicole Aylwin (2011) argue that the creators of Marks Indicating Conditions of Origin (MICOs) – whose territory ranges from Country of Origin Labelling (COOL) such as 'Made in China' to the geographical specificity of a *grand cru* – employ the exactitude of place to potentially secure higher prices. They claim (2011: 2028) that “MICOs are legal vehicles designed specifically for securing monopoly rent and for maintaining the social reproduction of certain specificities of place so as to ensure the perpetuity of locational competitive advantage.” Rent derives from limiting access to the place-name. The economic construction of place is described by David Harvey (2001: 401) as part of “the perpetual search for monopoly rents [which] entails seeking out criteria of speciality, uniqueness, originality, and authenticity in each of these realms. If uniqueness cannot be established by appeal to '*terroir*' and tradition, or straight description by flavour, then other modes of distinction must be evoked to establish monopoly claims.” If rent derives from the ability to singularise then capital must (2001: 410) “find ways to co-opt, subsume, commodify, and monetarize such differences just enough to be able to appropriate monopoly rent.” This analysis suggests that wine-makers and food producers should emphasise the specificities of place, the legacy of the region, traditional methods of production, the history of their firm, or any quality issue which might distinguish their outputs from that of their innumerable competitors.

Hughes (2006: 331) states that GIs are “partly about 'myth maintenance' and the extraction of monopoly rents from such myths.” The wine literature can again be used to explain this idea. John Overton (2010) – in his study of the New Zealand wine

industry – believes that place-based brands generate rents from impressed consumers. He maintains that the social construction of place allows ostensibly non-economic factors such as consumers' desire to obtain a sense of place to influence the price they are willing to pay. Wine consumers pay for both quality and image. They have a positive vision of where the wine derives from and how it is made. Overton (2010: 760) mentions that rents can best be acquired when external producers are prohibited from using the GI name as “monopoly rents are maximised when boundaries are well defined and protected, as in the case of the Gimblett Gravels [wines from North Island, New Zealand] where there are legally protected devices to limit the space and use of the place name. Owners of land within these boundaries have a strong incentive to protect their brand (place) name and the value of their asset.”⁷⁰ Rent therefore derives from the exclusive use of a geographical name (Overton and Heitger, 2008). However, in-place producers may not always demand higher prices and might instead use protection to prevent 'outsiders' from emulating a name they consider to have a high cultural value.

A controversial example in which protected status was used for economic purposes is revealed by the Feta Cheese case⁷¹ (O'Connor and Kireeva, 2003). Feta was initially registered as a PDO in 1996. The boundaries comprise much of mainland Greece, parts of Macedonia, and the island of Lesbos. This area is 132,000 square kilometres which is a phenomenal expanse for a protected name. There must be considerable differences in terrain which human factors presumably transcend. This suggests that one difference between Greek Feta and other European 'Fetas' is the specifically Greek knowledge and skills which make consistent the outcomes of varied Greek *terroir*. However, this notion suggests that in-place Greek skills can be bounded in the Feta region. Moreover, there existed long-standing 'Feta' industries in Denmark, France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Producers from these countries argued that 'Feta' was not a geographically-specific cheese which originated from Greece but was instead a generic name for 'white salty cheese in brine' (Gangjee, 2007b). They appealed to the European Court of Justice (ECJ)⁷² which annulled the PDO. This revocation understandably displeased the Greek government. Feta, after all, was not

⁷⁰ This is reminiscent of Garrett Hardin's (1968) famous article about the 'tragedy of the commons' in which bounded land is preserved and hence rises in value while common land is neglected and becomes less profitable.

⁷¹ 'Feta' is not a place in Greece but a derivative of the Italian word *fetta* which means 'slice'. Gangjee (2007b: 175) indicates that Regulation 2081/92 Article 2 Paragraph 3 (“Certain traditional geographical or non-geographical names designating an agricultural product or a foodstuff originating in a region or a specific place [...] shall also be considered as designations of origin”) justifies the “time-honoured association between an expression and a region [which] is sufficient to 'charge' it [the name] with geographical salience.”

⁷² The Court interprets EU law to ensure it is commonly applied in all EU nations.

merely a 'cheese' but a device of considerable importance to the Greek psyche. Ella Petridou (2012: 31)⁷³ explains that “the news featured on the Greek media in the form of a contested heritage discourse, making extensive use of war metaphors and presenting the controversy as another 'battle for the Name' that the nation had to fight.”⁷⁴ The Commission gathered new evidence based on, as Gangjee (2007b: 177) cites, “legislation regulating the production of Feta in the [European] Community, as well as the historical commencement of and statistics relating to its manufacture; legislation as well as statistics regarding the consumption of Feta; [and] trying to gauge consumer understanding of the term, both from representations made on labels as well as dictionary and reference work entries.” It remains unclear how an analysis of legislation, consumption statistics, and consumer perceptions can possibly have any connection to the physical conditions which supposedly underpin all PDOs. The results apparently indicated that consumers thought that Feta was innately 'Greek'. Further, 'Feta' produced outside Greece used 'Greek' iconography on its packaging which somehow proved that external producers 'knew' Feta was not generic. The new 'evidence' meant that Feta was re-awarded PDO status in October 2002.

The Feta regulation provides a wealth of scientific and geographical data about the cheese. It also unashamedly promotes the mythology which is central to Feta production. Enthralled readers are informed that “the ancient Greeks considered milk a sacred food, because Zeus was fed with milk from the she-goat Amaltheia.⁷⁵ Mercury, a God, is classified among the pastoral deities and is called 'the ram carrier' and 'the protector of sheep'.” Readers are further enlightened that “the art of cheese-making was given as a valuable gift to the poor by the God of Olympus” and “the cheese prepared by the Cyclops Polyphemos⁷⁶ and the ancient Greek livestock farmers was without doubt the forerunner of present-day Feta.”⁷⁷ This supernatural element (unthinkable in a British regulation) indicates the strong cultural aspect of protection. The PDO suggests that Greeks 'consume' their ancient heritage whenever they eat Feta. A legal assertion that Feta was generic would devalue the very essence of 'Greekness'. This case indicates that the link between place and outcome can incorporate mythological criteria. This example demonstrates that the PFN system is highly politicised. It suggests that a powerful impetus prevents the genericisation of foods considered of high cultural significance.

⁷³ Petridou (2012) interestingly notes that the name of only one of the 20 Greek PDO cheeses specifically refers to the place of production.

⁷⁴ The other 'battle' was over 'Macedonia' whose name had been claimed by the Former Yugoslav Republic.

⁷⁵ Amaltheia nurtured Zeus with her milk and thus acted as his surrogate mother.

⁷⁶ A one-eyed monster whose epicurean tastes were directed towards human flesh as Odysseus discovered.

⁷⁷ Feta Cheese Registration: Dossier Number EL/PDO/0017/0427 Section 'Historical Facts'.

Place-based protection can also economically disadvantage producers. The Newcastle Brown Ale (NBA) case reveals that protected status can harm flexible manufacturing practices (Pike, 2011). The 'Broon' (as it is affectionately known) was awarded PGI status in June 1996. The regulation connected NBA to place as the raw liquid had to be sourced from the 'waters of the Tyne'. NBA was owned (until 2008) by the Scottish & Newcastle conglomerate. There were no other producers because 'NBA' was also a trademark. Competition within the brewing industry meant that localised ingredients were considered too expensive and hence the Tyne waters were replaced by those from the less 'authentic' (but more economically viable) Whittle Dean reservoir in Northumbria. NBA was a successful export to the US but American ale-drinkers were unaware of its Newcastle heritage. This further diminished the need to maintain 'Newcastle-ness'. Scottish & Newcastle realised that the PGI restricted its ability to transfer production to cheaper climes and requested its cancellation which was granted in August 2007. The Tyne Brewery closed and production shifted to Gateshead. NBA was 'de-Newcastled' still further in May 2010 when production moved to North Yorkshire.⁷⁸ Pike (2011: 218) explains that other breweries were unable to use the PGI because “new market entrants would have run up against NBA's trademark protection, commercial secrets and substantial barriers to entry relating to scale, distribution, and marketing.” This situation would have been avoided if single producers had been prohibited from use of protected names, although, at times, there will be only a single manufacturer who wishes to transform a place-based food into a protected name.⁷⁹

The producers of foods and drinks which employ physical or human *terroir* (or, more likely, some degree of both) promote constructions of the 'local' and 'traditional' in order to generate positive consumer sentiment. These thoughts coalesce around the idea of the 'authentic' product which is only generated within a specific geographical milieu. What, however, is an authentic good? What constructions are necessary to achieve its singularisation? In order to answer these questions I now open up an investigation into the ambiguous and flexible notion of authenticity.

⁷⁸ Closure Deadline for Brown Ale Plant in Gateshead, *BBC*, 21 April 2010.

⁷⁹ The single producer of Traditional Ayrshire Dunlop (a hard cheese made from the raw or pasteurised milk of Ayrshire cows) has applied for protection. The PGI application (Traditional Ayrshire Dunlop Application Section 2) states that “the applicant company [Dunlop Dairy] is the only company producing 'Traditional Ayrshire Dunlop' cheese in the defined area [around the traditional parish of Dunlop in Ayrshire in south west Scotland]. However, the applicant recognises that any producer in the defined area has the right to produce the product in accordance with the specifications and the obligations imposed by the regulatory framework.” DEFRA still regard single producers to be legitimate but safeguards now mean that potential producers cannot be excluded as happened in the NBA case.

VI. Constructions of Authenticity in Time and Place.

The idea that an objective form of authenticity can exist is challenged by the anthropologist Richard Handler (1986) who suggests that the search for an authentic cultural experience – for what is unspoiled, pristine, genuine, untouched, and traditional – reveals more about those who seek it than the word itself. He suggests (1986: 2) that “explaining anthropological notions of authenticity will give us yet another example of the startling degree to which anthropological discourse about others proves to be a working-out of our own myths.” Handler's reference to mythology indicates the impossibility of 'scientifically' confirming any claim to authenticity. The contrast between what tourism geographer Gordon Waitt (2000: 846) calls a “belief in an absolute, autonomous reality against which knowledge could be tested” and Dydia DeLyser's (1999: 612) reasoning that “authenticity is not simply a condition, inherent in an object, awaiting discovery, but a term that has different meanings in different contexts, in different places, to different people, and even to the same person at different times” reflects the polarising nature of this ambiguous construct.

The same incoherence applies to constructions of 'authentic' foods and drink because – as Angela Tregear *et al.* (1998: 386) explain in their investigation of consumer attitudes towards regional foods – “perceptions of phenomena like quality and authenticity are the result of a subjective construction of meanings by an individual.” Consumers want authentic edible experiences but they can not objectively exist (J. May, 1996a; J. May, 1996b). Authenticity is always subjective (Beer, 2008) but can be employed in an 'objective' manner for commercial purposes. The different mechanisms by which authenticity can be constructed are detailed by marketing scholar Michael Beverland's (2006) research into the luxury wine trade. He identifies six notions of authenticity: heritage (which indicates a consistent level of quality over time), stylistic consistency (an established track record which demonstrates that the product is always made in the 'correct' manner), quality, relationship with place (the smaller the scale the greater the level of authenticity), traditional methods of production, and lack of overt commercial interest (which appeals to consumers who desire subtle marketing).

Siân Jones (2010) is cautious not to deny the material aspect of authenticity. She perceives (2010: 182) that “there is the materialist approach [...] which treats authenticity as a dimension of 'nature' with real and immutable characteristics that can be identified and measured [and] there is the constructivist position, popular amongst

academics and cultural critics, who see authenticity as a product of 'culture', or, to be precise, the many different cultures through which it is constructed. Yet, in research associated with the latter position there tends to be little concern with materiality." Goods with 'symbolic forms' (Scott, 2001) which Arjun Appadurai (1986: 38) argues have a "principal use [which] is rhetorical and social, goods that are simply incarnated signs" may conceptually supersede the physical attributes of these (food) products. Authenticity is a social construction but one often based on physical objects. The producers of protected foods emphasise material factors such as ingredients, methods of production, and the places from which they originate. The biography of GIs is based on very real places and thus there should be no opportunity for independent stories about the food to develop outside their promoters' place-based constructions. Their material manifestation is not an abstraction based on symbolic codes but a scenario in which producer-led ideas are deployed to generate profits and valorise protected foods.

Edward Relph (1976: 1), in one of the earliest geographical studies to delineate the importance of place and its relationship to authenticity, notes that "the significance of place in human experience goes far deeper than is apparent in the actions of individuals and groups protecting their places against outside forces of destruction, or is known to anyone who has experienced homesickness and nostalgia for particular places. To be human is to live in a world that is filled with familiar places: to be human is to have and know your place." He suggests (1976: 6) that the trend towards a superficial understanding of place "marks a major shift in the geographical basis of existence from a deep association with places to rootlessness, a shift that, once recognised and clarified, may be judged undesirable and possibly countered." The rootlessness to which Relph refers has perhaps been best defined by the anthropologist Marc Augé (1995) whose analysis into the increasing time people spend in what he calls 'non-places' – airports, malls, public transportation, and supermarkets – means that our surroundings have become increasingly impersonal and bland. The creators of so-called authentic foods reject this rootlessness as they aim to imbue their consumables with meanings of place. They may be understood as a mechanism which promotes localities of production and thus challenges placelessness (Jivén and Larkham, 2003).

Peter Jackson's (1999) work interrogates how audiences define the places and products they consider authentic. His examples of English towns affected by multiculturalism, 'black' music, and Aboriginal art are constructed by consumers as authentic or inauthentic depending on the use of subjective variables which allow them to determine what is 'real'. The 'English' town is no longer 'authentic' when 'foreigners'

are excessively visible but its inhabitants regard a level of ethnic plurality to be acceptable. 'Black' music is authentic when telling a story about life on 'the streets' but becomes inauthentic when enjoyed by white teenagers in their suburban bedrooms. Aboriginal art is authentic when un-commercial but loses this status when retailed by disembedded 'urban Aborigines'. The constructions in these examples are informed by the constitution of particular groups (immigrants or white youths), the location where the product is consumed (streets or bedrooms), and the sellers (rural or urban Aborigines). The same type of constructs are used to denote food authenticity. Consumers imagine that place-based edibles originate from small-scale production (which denotes exclusivity because place limits quantity), from status-conscious locations (farmers' markets or delicatessen counters), and perceive the sellers as traditional and rural (although they may, in fact, use 'industrial' methods of production) (Pieniak *et al.*, 2009). The images and stories about protected foods – their places, traditions, and material appearance – function as cultural values that can be transmitted to consumers.

This possibility of place-based authenticity can, at times, veer into confusing territory. Sharon Zukin (2008) contrasts Whole Foods Market – a retail chain which promotes 'healthy' food – to the more 'genuine' farmers' market in Manhattan. The recently opened Market dominates Union Square to the apparent detriment of the place-based farmers. Yet the Market itself promotes supposedly authentic foods. Zukin notes that it is impossible to cultivate a personal relationship with Whole Foods employees as they are itinerant and do not personally produce the foods they retail. The difference is (2008: 738) that “at the Greenmarket, individual farmers sell apples they have grown and chickens they have killed, while at Whole Foods, large photos of grazing cows and chickens on the walls present visual narratives about family farms that grows the food the store sells.” Zukin considers the point of sale to be less authentic because its employees are removed from the site of production. Its authenticity is not absolute but is contrasted with that of the farmers' market.

Constructions of authenticity can be distinguished from notions of 'tradition' (Bowen and De Master, 2011) and 'quality' (Gilg and Battershill, 1998; Hinchion and McIntyre, 2000; Parrott *et al.*, 2002). This distinction is noted by business management academics Glenn Carroll and Dennis Wheaton (2008: 10), in their investigation of 'authentic dining' in the US, who state that “these interpretations of rising contemporary concern with authenticity help distinguish it from tradition. Of course, something following a tradition may evoke symbols and feelings similar to that

aroused by something regarded as authentic. But conformity with historical usage is not by itself enough to do this.” Yet 'tradition' itself is hardly an uncontested term. Anne Meneley (2007) – in her analysis of Italian olive oil advertising techniques – explains that, while Tuscan and Umbrian producers use traditional millstones to crush the olives, all other factors of production have been modernised and the stones themselves are powered by electricity rather than water or horses as is traditional. Gade (2004) discovered that fact, myth, image, and tradition conglomerate through the construction of *terroir* and that image in particular is created by Francophone crests, avocations of nobility, and evocative terms like *château*. The 'quality' perspective may be less useful to GI producers because it is not necessarily based on place or history. Ilbery and Kneafsey (2000b) – in their investigation of regional speciality foods – articulate four producer constructions of quality: certification (through marks like a PDO or an organic symbol), association (with place, history, or traditional production methods), specification (through 'authentic' production), and attraction (through symbolism and the heritage crusade). Producers may not directly refer to their foods as authentic but instead could advocate notions of 'tradition', 'quality', and 'heritage' (Leighton, 2006) which operate as implicit markers of authenticity.

The use of producer-created claims to tradition is illustrated by the conflict between the British supermarket chain Asda and the Consorzio del Prosciutto di Parma (Mohammed, 2005). Parma was registered as a PDO in June 1996. Asda imported genuine Parma Ham into the UK yet a peculiar tenet of the Parma PDO was that the Ham must be sliced and packed in Parma. This was problematic because Asda bought the Ham in blocs and then sliced it in Britain. The Consorzio claimed that Ham sliced in the UK was not, in fact, genuine Parma Ham. They argued that the 'correct' method of slicing enhanced the flavour, colour, and texture and that subtle defects could only be ascertained at the slicing stage. The supposed importance of the slicing was somewhat undermined by the revelation that the Consorzio sold unsliced Ham to restaurants where it was later sliced in the absence of Parma slicing virtuosos. This contradiction suggests that the Consorzio's claim was a protectionist gesture designed to maintain the 'slicing economy' in Parma.

The Advocate General⁸⁰ remained unconvinced by the Consorzio's allegations and stated that “the ability to slice ham is a human influence that exists independent of the region. A person with the special knowledge of how to slice Parma Ham could easily move to another Member State and perform the task there just as well” (Seal,

⁸⁰ Advocate Generals assist Judges in particular cases but their suggestions are not binding on the court.

2004: 555-556). Legal scholar Annette Kur (2007: 1322) trenchantly comments that “to contend that residents of EU member states or regions other than those in or around the city of Parma are not capable of slicing ham properly, and to assert that it is not even possible for persons owning those skills to educate and monitor others in the proper exercise of those techniques, are statements that, in a 'normal' [non-politicised PFN] case, the ECJ would have treated with disdain.” A compromise permitted Asda to slice the Ham in Britain but only in the presence of their customers. This restricted the volume that could be sliced and thus retarded sales. The ECJ's rationale was that consumers would only eat 'authentic' Ham when they were able to observe the slicing but would purchase an 'inauthentic' product if the Ham was sliced outside their gaze. The Parma situation reveals that claims to 'authenticity' can conceal protectionist policies that seek to retain capital in-place. It suggests that the owners of important PFNs can enrol politicians to make the legal definition of authenticity so precise that it becomes a trade barrier. This undermines the claim that GIs are based on an unreplicable connection to place and that methods of production are predicated on traditional procedures.

The juxtaposition between 'authentic' and 'inauthentic' foods can be revealed by the business model of the agri-food industry. Jonathan Murdoch *et al.* (2000) indicate that global food production requires 'appropriation' where natural production processes are replaced by industrial activities and 'substitution' in which companies replace natural ingredients with synthetic equivalents exemplified by Becky Mansfield's (2003) study of the artificial crab 'meat' known as *surimi*. The overwhelming need to control every facet of the supply chain occurs – according to Terry Marsden (1998: 269) – because “unless agriculture can reduce its input costs (through increased adoption of technology, economies of scale, and further withdrawal of farmers and farm labour) it will not be able to compete in the new globally regulated markets.” Anthropologist Jeff Pratt (2007), in his study of food values and authenticity, states that the global agri-food system consists of several interlinked processes that challenge the possibility of authentic production. These include the wholesale mechanisation of large farms, crop monocultures, heavy use of fertilisers, and the reconstitution of raw materials like sugars, starches, and proteins. Concerned consumers apparently consider agri-food networks inauthentic because their producers have minimal connection to the specificities of place (Arce and Marsden, 1993; Busch and Juska, 1997; Murdoch and Meile, 1999). The use of GM crops, industrial production methods, and chemical additives means that production can occur 'anywhere'.

Place-based producers claim that 'authentic' products protect consumers from commercial decisions which denigrate cultural specificity in favour of maximised profit. Melanie DuPuis and David Goodman (2005: 363) explain – in their focus on the politics of local eating – that “calls for the relocalization of food systems appear to stem from a perceived need to protect European rural economy and society from the potentially damaging consequences of international agricultural trade liberalization.” This procedure has been described as part of the attempt to fossilise place as a cultural defence against the supposed transmogrification of local life brought about by iterative flux in the social fabric (Ray, 1998). It is common practice to believe that the world is increasingly homogeneous (Bauman, 1998) with place-based specificity under attack. Consumers may demand place-based foods if they think that modern life has become 'inauthentic' as – according to Pike (2009b: 626) – “competition and standardization in globalizing markets reduces uniqueness and stimulates demands for authenticity and provenance.”

Bell and Valentine (1997: 3) suggest that “for most inhabitants of (post)modern Western societies, food has long ceased to be merely about sustenance and nutrition. It is packed with social, cultural, and symbolic meanings.” The claim that “most inhabitants” are passionate about the meaning of their food is perhaps exaggerated but this notion does appeal to consumers who are fascinated by the biographies and geographies of their foods (Crang, 1996; Kuznesof *et al.*, 1997). The place (geography) is linked to the history (biography). However, Cook *et al.* (1998) note that consumer knowledge of food will always be selective and partial yet can be sufficient for consumers to reject Harvey's (1990: 422) notion that “we can in practice consume our meal without the slightest knowledge of the intricate geography of production and the myriad social relationships embedded in the system that puts it upon our table.” Instead, such consumers would concur with Bell and Valentine (1997: 198) that “a significant part of the pleasure of eating is one's accurate consciousness of the lives and the world from which food comes.”⁸¹ This suggests that fulfilment results from the 'consumption' of place and production methods. Tregear (2003: 96) observes that “permeating [local food] is a concern for authenticity: the identification of the quintessential, and genuine and 'official' embodiment of the type.” This suggests that consumers might move away from 'eating the Other' (Cook, 2008) towards the deliberate consumption of their regional heritage (López-Guzmán and Sánchez-Cañizares, 2012).

⁸¹ Quoting Berry (1992).

Berit Nygård and Oddveig Storstad (1998) – in their investigation of the *Godt Norsk* (Good Norwegian) brand – claim that, for Norwegian consumers, authentic foods derive from unspoilt local areas which allow urban dwellers to 'consume' nature. Similarly, Jacinthe Bessière (1998: 22) indicates that rural food tourism exploits this notion because “its heritage component – more specifically gastronomy – leads us to consider rural space as a place to find compensation for lost identity, and as a representation of 'the good old days'.” It is argued that urban-dwellers' idealisation of nature is performed by the physical and psychological consumption of place-based foods (Henderson, 2009). Skuras and Dimara (2004: 804) concur that “the consumption of regionally denominated food and drink may indicate a 'nostalgia' for life near nature, as enjoyed in the past, for the place where the consumer was born and raised.” Bessière (1998: 28) states that achieving this goal “means giving the consumer a maximum guarantee of the historical content, origins, and roots which are the most important conditions for a successful heritage market.” Objects created within place provide consumers with meaning and – according to Kravets and Öрге (2010: 209) – become “lasting, ceaseless reminders of events, people, and places; as such, they assumed their role as sites of emotion and memory, connecting personal biographies to common history.”

One reaction to 'inauthentic' production has been to embrace 'alternative' foods. These products can apparently redistribute value along the supply chain, connect producers to consumers and hence ferment trust, and provide knowledge about the place and methods of production. These foods are marketed as organic (Clark *et al.*, 2008; Kjeldsen and Ingemann, 2009), 'ethical', or 'sustainable' (Eden *et al.*, 2008b; Jackson *et al.*, 2009). They can, at times, be place-based such as certain olive oil networks in Valencia (Moragues-Faus and Sonnino, 2012). The consumption of supposedly 'ethical' foods created in harmonious synergy with 'nature' apparently provides the consumer with 'psychic' benefits such as a sense of well-being. Raymond Bryant and Michael Goodman (2004: 359) contrast the stereotypical paradisaical constructs used to promote 'Amazon Frosted Flakes' to the more positive ethical imagery employed by 'Café Mam' coffee and assert that “the knowledge produced through fair trade works to de-fetishize the commodity. Thus, the aim is to peel away hidden layers of information about the commodity to reveal the social and environmental conditions of its production that are 'fair'. Value in solidarity-based exchange is created through the de-fetishising of commodity cultures precisely to allow consumers, it is hoped, to make moral and economic connections to the producers of the foods they ingest.” De-fetishisation via ethical consumption is supposed to enhance

purchasers' sense of morality and affect society by changing eating patterns (Carrier, 2010). Further, Benjamin Coles and Philip Crang (2011) argue that the de-fetishisation of commodities is itself a form of fetishisation. They reveal that the foods retailed at Borough Fine Foods market are depicted as artisanal, organic, and ethical while their place of production is foregrounded by producers. However, as Jackson (2002) notes, unveiling the commodity fetish to reveal conditions of production does not automatically mean that shoppers will alter their patterns of consumption nor that working conditions will change for the better. Moreover, as Crang (1996) asserts, it is simplistic and nostalgic to allege that mass (food) culture has overwhelmed place both because homogenised culture is itself more diverse than its detractors claim, as the coherency of local cultural life is often overstated by traditionalists, and because consumers respond to (food) standardisation with innovative techniques.

So-called local food (Hein *et al.*, 2006; Ilbery *et al.*, 2006; Maye *et al.*, 2006; Feagan, 2007; Blake *et al.*, 2010; Sims, 2010) can apparently be used to promote the re-territorialisation of place and is therefore positioned by producers as part of this 'alternative' food spectrum (Bowen, 2010b). DuPuis and Goodman (2005) suggest that the localisation of food demonstrates environmental sustainability, social justice, ethical consumption, and the 're-peasantisation' of farming. They claim that local food manufacturers invoke a cultural capital that challenges the hegemony of agri-food companies. Nonetheless, it is not immediately clear how alternative the local is as it has been defined in multiple ways. Daniele Giovannucci *et al.* (2010) explain that, in the US, the 'local' may constitute a defined distance (which ranges from 30 to 250 miles), comprise of a region like New England or the Midwest, form an area based on common characteristics of place or skills (similar to physical and human *terroir*), or derive from food grown in the consumer's home state (which ranges from 1,545 square miles in Rhode Island to 663,267 square miles in Alaska). LeeRay Costa and Kathryn Besio (2011) distinguish between 'Local' and 'local' food in their analysis of Hawaiian regional cuisine. The former is made in-place by natives using small-scale production methods while the latter merely has some vague connection to the state.

Examples of British protected foods which emphasise the connection between place and local history are detailed in the regulation for Cornish Clotted Cream which has been “made in Cornwall for many generations and it is noted in 17th century literature [...] has been marketed for over 100 years”;⁸² Yorkshire Forced Rhubarb whose producers have been “marketing the product onto wholesale markets since 1877

⁸² Cornish Clotted Cream Registration: Dossier Number UK/PDO/0005/0014 Section 5d.

[...] the first place in the world where sheds were built for the purpose of forcing⁸³ [rhubarb]”;⁸⁴ Jersey Royal Potatoes which have “been marketed exclusively from Jersey for over 100 years [...] Random Amplified Polymorphic DNA techniques have determined the genetic similarity between Jersey Royal, and two sources of International Kidney [potato] selected around 1880, and all the currently grown selections are believed to have originated from this single clone source”;⁸⁵ and Cornish Sardines where “the first recorded exports of salted sardines (known then as pilchards) were in 1555 from the Cornish port Looe. During the 17th and 18th centuries, these exports became one of the mainstays of the Cornish fishing industry with the largest recorded landing being for 1871.”⁸⁶ The revelation that DNA techniques indicate genetic similarities between types of potato and that salted sardines were first exported four-and-a-half centuries ago is supposed to demonstrate that these foods have a long and consistent connection to place. However, the suggestion that certain foods have 'always' existed in a specified area is challenged by Tregear (2003) who explains that many 'national' foods were imported historically – tomatoes are neither a scion of Italy nor rhubarb of England. Cook and Crang (1996) explain that potatoes, tomatoes, and vanilla were once 'foreign' but have subsequently become 'European'. Even tea, with its imperial connotations, needed to be stabilised as 'English'. Apparently timeless products like tea cannot be considered authentically 'English' if the national 'cuppa' used to be an exotic intruder. Similarly, Cook *et al.* (2000), in the context of 'ethnic' foods, assert that 'Indian' cuisine in the UK has been modified to serve national tastes. It is thus not possible to prove that a food is 'Indian' (or, for that matter, 'Mexican' or 'Thai') because what is served is a variant of the 'foreign' style.

The producers of GIs foreground place and production methods but this does not mean they should necessarily be regarded as 'alternative' to the capitalist system. Michael Winter (2003: 25) indicates, in his study of farming areas in England and Wales, that 'alternative' food production networks are not automatically embedded and thus “we cannot equate 'alternativeness' with embeddedness in a deterministic manner.” It is tempting – as embeddedness occurs in the locality – to claim that its promoters must be opposed to the agri-food market although scepticism about such a totalising claim is surely warranted (Watts *et al.*, 2005). Further, it is unclear how 'alternative' production can be empirically defined. PFNs can be local and created by small-scale production or alternatively be popular commercial names whose producers employ industrial-style manufacturing techniques. Indeed, it has been claimed that

⁸³ Rhubarb is forced when its immature stalks are placed in dark sheds which forces them to grow.

⁸⁴ Yorkshire Forced Rhubarb Registration: Dossier Number UK/PDO/0005/0633 Sections 5.1 and 5.3.

⁸⁵ Jersey Royal Potatoes Registration: Dossier Number UK/PDO/0017/0027 Section 5d.

⁸⁶ Cornish Sardines Registration: Dossier Number UK/PGI/0005/0589 Section 5.3.

'alternative' methods have been de-authenticated (Johnston *et al.*, 2009). The distinction between 'good' and 'bad' food starts to possess less relevance when apparently 'alternative' food production networks use 'fast-food' techniques (Eden *et al.*, 2008a). Some scholars profess that all forms of 'alternative' production have been co-opted by powerful institutions now that, for example, McDonald's and Wal-Mart supply supposedly 'local' food (DeLind, 2011). Julie Guthman (1998), in particular, details the change in consumer understanding of 'organic' produce. This term used to describe fruits and vegetables that were grown without genetic modifications, pesticides, or fertilizers. However (1998: 135), times have changed and “conventional agro-food firms are beginning to appropriate the most lucrative aspects of organic food provision.” This has modified the legal meaning of 'organic.' Jackson *et al.* (2009: 13) suggest that there is a debate between “those who argue that ethically defined alternative food networks represent a radical and significant departure from conventional food systems and those who regard them as an incremental and niche phenomenon, rooted in the lifestyle preference of particular social groups.”

Ostensibly authentic forms of production can have two major disadvantages. First, they may conflict with health requirements as 'tradition' can be a synonym for 'unsafe'. Second, small scale production using old-fashioned tools reduces output. This will not concern small producers who only retail in the locality but is problematic for large manufacturers. PFNs can encompass a large territory and permit flexible methods of production. There are occasions when smaller artisanal producers want a more rigorous connection to place (Tregear *et al.*, 2007; Bérard *et al.*, 2008; Bowen, 2011; Grasseni, 2012). These two issues have been explored in a number of studies. Rangnekar's (2011: 2054-2055) analysis of Feni – a liquor made from cashew apples or coconut from Goa – reveals contradictions between the economic and cultural goals of the producers as “inscribing the Lavni [pot] as the pot for distilling caju [cashew] heralds a tension between what is culturally preferred (Lavni) and what is economically pervasive (the extralocal pot still). The celebration of the Lavni remains incomplete as associated conventions of place (e.g. foot crushing) are absent from the specifications, which reflects a lack of attention to either oral or ethnographic accounts of distilling.” However, the Feni regulation has modernised formerly traditional production techniques in order to make its producers more efficient. The outcome militates against the very in-place cultural specificity that such regulations are supposed to protect.

Harry West and Nuno Domingo's (2012) investigation of Serpa cheese from the Alentejo region of central Portugal similarly reveals that the regulations are considered too vague by the minor Serpa producers who have demanded a more refined definition. These producers' concerns (2012: 129-130, 132) are that the cheese “was a far more heterogeneous product that the DOC [Denominação de Origem Controlada]⁸⁷ regulation would suggest [and that] the DOC specified that Queijo Serpa was made from raw sheep's milk but it did not specify the breed of sheep, nor what these animals should be fed [and] today Serpa cheese is generally aged in refrigerated drying and curing rooms on stainless steel shelves [which] breaks with the historical practice [...] of aging the cheese on reed mats in the rafters of the cheese room.”

The same conflict between 'tradition' and 'progress' is identified by Laurence Bérard *et al.* (2008) in their study of Salers PDO cheese from central France. There is disagreement between producers over use of the *gerle* – the wooden container in which the raw milk is processed – between the larger Salers makers who considered stainless steel boxes to be more sanitary and the smaller members who want to maintain its traditional use. A similar disconnection between smaller craft producers and mainstream commercial establishments was exposed by Sarah Bowen's (2011) investigation of the Comté cheese PDO supply chain in eastern France. Tregear *et al.*'s (2007) investigation of Culatello di Zibello (cured ham from Parma) also indicates that the PDO has been sundered into 'industrial' and 'artisanal' versions. The two industrial producers generate three times more volume than the 11 artisanal firms and are alleged to have created the PDO for economic purposes. Meanwhile (2007: 20) “artisan producers resisted the inclusion of larger, more industrial producers, as the latter were seen as 'free riders' able to capture the rent accumulated via the efforts and resources already expended by the artisans.” The PDO for Bitto cheese which hails from the Valtellina region of northern Italy, was embroiled in controversy when its major producers decided in 2005 to standardise the cultivation of bacteria and restrict the cows' free-range grazing. The 16 dissenting manufacturers were concerned, according to anthropologist Cristina Grasseni (2012: 24), that “the geographical denomination covers too big an area – much wider than that of the mountain pastures actually and traditionally grazed by Bitto makers [and] that if anyone is able to make a predominately cow's milk, lowland cheese and call it Bitto, this will mean abandoning the joint practice of goat and cow grazing on the high pastures, shortening the *alpage* [mountain transhumance]⁸⁸ season, and allowing dietary changes that may move in the

⁸⁷ This is the Portuguese translation of PDO.

⁸⁸ The seasonal movement of farmers and their cattle between pastures. Mountain transhumance is the migration from high to low elevations.

direction of GM grains for one's cows.” These producers consider that the PDO's rejection of geographical and historical specificity would result in the Bitto name becoming effectively meaningless. They felt that the PDO – far from protecting the name – had devalued the specificity of 'authentic' Bitto.

The obvious organisation which can help place-based producers to achieve a more specific connection to place is the Slow Food Movement. This now-international organisation was founded in Italy in 1986 with the remit to “reconnect people with where their food comes from and how it is produced so they can understand the implications of the choices they make about the food they put on their plates [and] we encourage people to choose nutritious food, from sustainable, local sources which tastes great.”⁸⁹ Slow Food provides an ideology of consumption in a way that PFNs do not. It is a member-based movement rather than a governmental certification body. Slow Food has been criticised for its support of upper-class gourmards who have the time, money, and cultural knowledge to purchase and appreciate local foods (Pietrykowski, 2004; West and Domingos, 2012). The organisation uses production and consumption as metaphors to illustrate what they perceive to be the destabilising effects of contemporary life. The 'Slow' name promotes a lifestyle which is time-rich and appreciates all that nature can provide. They object to fast-food, industrial processes, and the factory system.

A number of place-based producers have joined Slow Foods' 'Ark of Taste'. Members are “artisan producers who opt to swim against the tide of Fast Life [and] need our help in explaining to the public why their products are special and, usually, have cost more to make than mass-produced counterparts.”⁹⁰ British PFN producers who are also members of the Ark are Artisan Dorset Blue Vinny Cheese, Artisan Single and Double Gloucestershire Cheese,⁹¹ Gloucester Old Spots Pork, Grimsby Smoked Haddock, Manx Loaghtan Lamb, Traditionally Grown Jersey Royal Potatoes, Traditionally Made Farmhouse 'Stilton', and Yorkshire Forced Rhubarb. The inclusion of 'Artisan' for the cheeses, and 'Traditionally Grown' for Jersey Potatoes is designed to differentiate these varieties from their protected brethren. The Jersey Royal Potatoes are supposedly superior to the PDO version as “the Island has only about half a dozen commercial customers now for its crop – the giant supermarket chains, which buy 90 per cent of the crop. There are still a very few farmers, who combine a herd of dairy cattle with a potato crop, and likewise a very few farmers, who fertilise their fields with

⁸⁹ Website: www.slowfood.org.uk/what-we-do

⁹⁰ Website: www.slowfood.org.uk/why-we-exist

⁹¹ Only Single Gloucester Cheese was awarded protected status.

*vraic*⁹² – Jersey seaweed, the natural fertiliser of Jersey fields throughout history. It is these farmers that we have included within the Ark.”⁹³

All forms of authenticity are social constructions but GI promoters use place – especially the locality (whatever that may mean) – and apparently traditional methods of production to create an objective definition of this vague term. It is not necessarily a concern that the word's multiple definitions have made it effectively meaningless but rather that it is legally used to decide which producers are allowed to claim exclusive rights to valuable geographical names. This formalisation of authenticity prohibits external organisations from invoking certain place-based terms and restricts entry into the bounded region from 'inauthentic' producers. Protectionism requires a justification which should be based on more than inconsistent definitions of 'tradition' and 'locality'. I now summarise this chapter and articulate some pertinent questions that can expand our knowledge of why, how, and with what effects GIs are mobilised.

VII. And What of Tjukkmjøl?

Tjukkmjøl, the 'thick sour milk' from Norway of the chapter title, provides a useful end point to this literature review as the ways in which it is created and deployed serve to encapsulate many of the attributes and concerns that characterise the GI system. This delicacy is, according to Virginie Amilien *et al.* (2005), made with *tettegras* (“a special plant which grows on the moors”), which is picked, washed, placed in a wooden bowl, and inundated with lukewarm milk to create a milk culture known as *tette*. Norwegian consumers are apparently ignorant of *terroir* but instead appreciate positive reputation. They are unconcerned about local specificity and more comfortable with the idea of 'Norwegian food'. There is a small but growing niche which appreciates local produce although this market thus far caters to elite tastes. Tjukkmjøl is produced throughout Norway but Røros – a former mining town in the hilly north-east – was the first area to commercially produce and distribute the milk in accordance with stringent organic specifications. The Tjukkmjøl producers singularise their output as different from that of the organic milk Dalsgården which they consider insufficiently local. This little-known case illustrates how subjective notions of place, the 'local', uniqueness, identity, and marketing informs the GI model.

It has become clear from this review of the literature that there are two inconsistent and contradictory attitudes about the validity of the GI model. The first –

⁹² *Vraic* is the generic name for seaweed in Jersey. The collectors of this fertiliser are known as *vraitcheurs*.

⁹³ Website: www.slowfood.org.uk/traditionally-grown-jersey-royal-potatoes

promoted internationally by the WTO and at the state level by national policy-makers – is that geographically protected names can be viably predicated on defined places; that it is possible to accurately determine boundaries based on legitimate historical evidence; that *terroir* (however defined) positively and strongly influences the output of foods grown within the protected zone (even if this assertion is scientifically unprovable); that these factors – place, boundaries, and *terroir* – can be invoked to determine the authentic status of the food or drink; and that these concepts justify the exclusion of out-of-place actors from use of the geographical name. The second – advocated by social scientists and with which I concur – challenges this dominant paradigm. It accepts that GIs demonstrate high levels of economic and cultural capital but additionally questions how these devices were successfully negotiated into being. It rejects the notion that there is anything 'natural' about GIs and instead perceives them to be outcomes of their contested past. This view regards place and boundaries as social constructions that have been developed to achieve goals which include cultural preservation, economic development, monopoly rents, protectionism, marketing techniques, and consumer support. It asks who has created these constructions and why. A belief that place is a social construction must mean that concepts which function as agents of legitimisation – *terroir*, traditional skills, and claims to authenticity – may well also be artificial. However, this perspective has thus far had minimal influence. Producers and policy-makers consider GIs to be a positive economic and social force rather than an idea which requires debate. The aim of this thesis is to interrogate the presumptions that underpin the GI model with a detailed investigation of the ways in which geographical constructions are employed in three key British cases: Melton Mowbray Pork Pies, Stilton Cheese, and Grimsby Traditional Smoked Fish. I will address the following research questions.

1. What are the economic and cultural rationales invoked to justify the award of protected status to British foods and drinks?
2. How are conceptions of 'place' and 'boundaries' used to create, stabilise, and defend Geographical Indications in the UK?
3. What role does 'authenticity' play in sustaining claims to a Geographical Indication? Is an 'authentic' product made through an association with place, traditional methods of production, both, or neither?

This review of the extant literature detailed the international, EU, and British GI systems. I explored contested notions of physical and human *terroir*, place, boundaries, authenticity (and its connection to 'alternative' and 'local' food production networks), traditional skills, and quality. The next chapter explains the methodological structure I used in order to select the case studies and reviews the tactics I deployed to collect pertinent data.

Chapter III

Investigating Place, Production, and Protected Food Names.

I. Unpacking Protected Foods.

The last decade has witnessed a new-found and substantial interest in Geographical Indications (GIs) from lawyers and policy-makers. However, the majority of their research has taken a legal or economic approach which suggests, for example, that foods should have the same level of Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property (TRIPS) protection as wines and spirits, that producers should charge higher prices for place-based goods, and that GIs can be used in Less Developed Countries (LDCs) to increase exports of place-based crafts. These studies, however, rarely question the underlying legitimacy of the GI system itself and hence fail to challenge the supposed connection between place and outcome. My intention is to redress this deficiency by investigating how, why, and with what effects the GI model has been created, stabilised, and expanded.

GIs have been formed by legal and cultural manoeuvres that benefit certain groups such as place-based producers. The normalisation and stabilisation of this system – evidenced by the TRIPS treaty and the Protected Food Names (PFN) structure – has led to a scenario in which GIs are now taken-for-granted by producers, consumers, politicians, and journalists. This type of situation is explained by Allen Pred (1984: 290) who challenges the fiction that any system can be formed without reference to historical events as “the habitual use of language and rules in the execution of institutional projects often obscures the previous social activity embodied in the things and events facilitating those projects. Consequently, individuals come to think of the detailed situations and social order characterizing their project participation as natural rather than as humanly created and culturally arbitrary.” The evidence suggests that the GI system has been 'black boxed'. Bruno Latour (1987) uses this term to describe how a device, piece of equipment, scientific concept, or ideological perspective becomes ingrained within a particular society. Black boxing happens (1987: 2-3) “whenever a piece of machinery or set of commands is too complex. In its place [I can] draw a little box about which [I] need to know nothing but its input and output.” It is unnecessary to know how a black boxed system works as participants

need only accept that it is valid. It has, for example, become 'common knowledge' to assume that the place of production determines the quality of food and drink created therein. This idea is now stabilised in popular discourse yet Jonathan Murdoch (1997: 329) reminds us not to forget “the role played by resources in stabilizing and maintaining past actions in ways which allow them to bear on the localized present.” Historical processes are often concealed by the present-day situation. I aim in this thesis to explore the material and conceptual resources that have stabilised the present manifestation of the PFN system. I wish to reveal the geography of the social relationships that constitute GIs and thereby get 'behind' the commodified messages in order to unveil the thought processes that have standardised this system.

Each PFN is a complex construction which may comprise of associations between people, animals, plants, bacteria, and technologies. The 'human' component is an assemblage of economic, cultural, political, and legal protagonists. Ian Cook and Michelle Harrison's (2007) analysis of West Indian Hot Pepper Sauce followed this ethnic condiment from plantations in Jamaica to consumers in London. Their multi-site investigation includes pepper producers, plantation owners, crop-pickers, shoppers, advertisers and even pests like aphids. Equivalently, Cook's (2004) investigation of papaya networks interrogated papaya buyers, importers, agronomists, farmers, workers, papaya packers, and purchasers. David Goodman (1999: 32) advocates ensuring that “the multiple human and non-human actors involved at every step are explicitly foregrounded, giving transparency to the complex material, eco-social, and discursive practices that bring food from the land to the table in the routine context of everyday life.” A network – such as an Association or Group of GI producers – is one in which an actor (or, more likely, a group of actors) seeks to enrol other participants. Michael Woods (1997: 323), in his research into rural conflicts, explains that “an idea – a socially constructed rural idyll, or a policy initiative – is conceived and then is developed by its conceiver, with or without resistance.” Enrollers want to achieve stability and work with other participants in the furtherance of similar goals. I sought access to the protected food producers along with ancillary participants like the civil servants responsible for maintaining the PFN system. 'Hidden' actors include producers who want to use the place-name but are either located outside the protected area or situated in-place but refuse to abide by the regulated methods of production. They are effectively invisible because they are prohibited from use of the geographical name and therefore never become members of the network. I wanted to discover the hidden participants as the exposure of formerly concealed actors can provide new information which re-shapes how society understands existing structures of knowledge.

The ability to incorporate data from actors who are outside the GI system can provide alternative views about a topic of economic and cultural importance.

I was particularly interested in cases where producers felt threatened by other groups. It is – to reference Sarah Whatmore (2009: 587-588) – at times of “ontological disturbance [when] the things on which we rely as unexamined parts of the material fabric of our everyday lives become molten” and the “knowledge claims and technologies of environmental science, and the regulatory and policy practices of government agencies that they inform, become subject to public interrogation and dispute” that concealed data are more likely to be exposed. These destabilising processes can reveal the conflicts, disagreements, imbroglios, inconsistencies, and machinations that are overlooked within the GI structure. 'Hidden' participants are more likely to be exposed during times of 'crisis'. Lawyers, for example, are integral to the GI structure but are invisible when PFN networks are stable. Latour (1991: 129) explains that “when actors and points of view are aligned, then we enter a stable definition of society that looks like domination. When actors are unstable and the observers' points of view shift endlessly then we are entering a highly unstable and negotiated situation in which domination is not yet exerted.” It is useful to access producer networks where destabilisation means that a formerly dominant atmosphere is under threat. The Stilton case will show how a once stable protected name was targeted by two independent groups. One wanted to expand the protected zone while the other wished to alter the obligatory requirement to pasteurise. Contacts with these organisations enabled me to offer a more diverse investigative approach in which producers who were forbidden to make 'authentic' Stilton were given a 'voice' and could therefore tell their 'story'.

This chapter now explains how I selected my case studies. I take each PFN and detail why I considered that it was able to provide cogent data which could contribute to a fuller examination of the PFN scheme. They are chosen to illuminate aspects of place-based food production that have been overlooked or taken-for-granted in previous studies.

II. Selection of Case Studies.

My aim was to unveil the constructions innate to my selected protected foods, and, by extension, to those within the British, EU, and international GI systems in order to reveal their theoretical and empirical foundations. I wanted to discover cases

which could critically illustrate how the themes of place, boundaries, *terroir*, tradition, and authenticity detailed in Chapter II are appealed to in the UK and expose the oft-hidden infrastructure which is central to all GIs. I looked for cases with 'newsworthy' material as I needed debate, discussion, and controversy to acquire information that would allow me to more fully unveil the GI system.

I began my attempt to select information-rich and revelatory cases with a review of all registered⁹⁴ British PFNs. My source was the EU's Database of Origin and Registration (DOOR) website⁹⁵ which contains the regulation document for every protected name. The level of detail varies but will always include the name of the applicant group, a description of the food, a definition of the geographical area, the historical background of the product, methods of production, and the link to the geographical area. The applicant group oversees the producers, arranges the annual inspection, and may (finances permitting) allocate funds for research and publicity. British applicant groups include the Cornish Pasty Association, Cornish Sardine Management Association, Quality Meat Scotland, Scottish Salmon Producers' Organisation, Staffordshire Cheese Company, The Ancient Oyster Companies of Whitstable and Faversham, and The Yorkshire Rhubarb Triangle Growers.

I originally planned to contact the Chairperson or Secretary of each applicant group but soon judged this to be impractical and an ineffective use of time. Molly Warrington (1997) – in her advice to students based on her recently completed PhD – notes that a larger number of cases will provide more general data but will sacrifice the depth achieved through selectivity. I therefore decided to select three PFNs for my detailed investigation. Three studies militated against the lack of representativeness which would have resulted from a single case. One case would have generated a wealth of detail about the selected food but at the expense of being able to connect the theoretical and material data to the wider GI system. Moreover, there would have been a practical danger if producers decided to arbitrarily terminate their co-operation. Three studies permit a comparative approach which means that ideas of place, boundaries, *terroir*, and authenticity can be contrasted as I expected that the ways in which these social constructions were understood and applied would vary between cases. I examined all registered PDOs and PGIs (see Table 1.1)⁹⁶ in order to select my cases. I decided that my research aims would be best satisfied with three detailed investigations of Melton Mowbray Pork Pies, Stilton Cheese, and Grimsby Traditional

⁹⁴ 'Registered' names have been granted protected status. Names listed in DOOR as 'applied' or 'published' have not yet been registered.

⁹⁵ Website: ec.europa.eu/agriculture/quality/door/list.html

Smoked Fish. My preliminary investigation identified five main theories that I planned to question through the case studies: the rationale for protection, the connection between law and geography, constructions of place and the role of boundaries, understandings of *terroir*, and the use of authenticity.

The rationale for turning a place-based food, drink, agricultural product, or craft into a legally protected GI derives from a combination of economic and cultural factors. Melton Mowbray is probably the best publicised of all British protected names and I therefore thought that it would make an excellent archetypal case which could illustrate the PFN system. The Melton Mowbray Pork Pie Association (MMPPA) was formed in the late 1990s. I wondered about the cultural and economic rationales for its creation. It took until 2009 for the pies to achieve protected status. The expense of time, effort, and money must surely have meant that the MMPPA expected substantial rewards. Stilton Cheese, by comparison, struck me as rather different because the cheese received Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) certification as far back as 1996. I felt that this case would show the birth of the PFN system in the UK and indicate Britain's cultural transformation from a country which lacked an appellations system into one whose leaders supported place-based foods. The Grimsby smokers' acquisition of Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) status suggested that their aim was to protect the traditional smoking process. This struck me as somewhat unorthodox because – while methods of production are important when deciding claims to protected status – my impression was that place should be central to any determination of protection.

GIs are legal devices but this structure appears concealed. Consumers may observe the PFN logos but are unlikely to know the specific legalities of the system. Law is, in effect, 'hidden' in place. Melton Mowbray appeared a fruitful case to deconstruct the legal regime because of the unusually lengthy and complex process through which the PGI was eventually acquired. It is the only British PFN to have been challenged in court by an external manufacturer. I envisaged the legal case as a 'crisis point' which threatened the emergent Melton Mowbray network. This 'crisis' would hopefully permit a detailed look at the mechanisms by which the legal system regulates geography. I wanted to read all published legal materials (transcriptions of the many

⁹⁶ Table 1.1 lists all PDOs, PGIs, and TSGs. I was unable to consider Armagh Bramley Apples (PGI), Cornish Pasties (PGI), Isle of Man Queenies (PDO), Lough Neagh Eels (PGI), Native Shetland Wool (PDO), New Season Comber Potatoes (PGI), Newmarket Sausages (PGI), Scottish Wild Salmon (PGI), and Traditional Cumberland Sausages (PGI) because they were registered after I began the fieldwork. I also excluded the Traditional Speciality Guaranteed (TSG) foods Traditional Farmfresh Turkeys and Traditional Gloucester Old Spots Pork because of their lack of geographical specificity. I further bypassed Bonchester Cheese (PDO), Buxton Blue Cheese (PDO), Dovedale Cheese (PDO), and Teviotdale Cheese (PGI) which were not produced at this time.

court cases) to understand how judicial practitioners are able to negotiate the geography of this place-based form of Intellectual Property (IP).

The GI system requires each protected place to be delimited. Every GI must have defined boundaries which demarcate the protected and unprotected areas. Boundaries are supposed to be based on the historical location of production. The history must therefore be 'correct' or producers' claims to the protected zone will not be coterminous with the historical area of production. This may mean that either legitimate producers are excluded or that non-historical production locations are wrongly included. It would seem reasonable for a geographically-named product to be made in the place which provides its name. However, the Melton Mowbray PGI regulation states that "the geographical area [...] is larger than the original area of production. This takes account of the fact that over time those barriers [to transport] became less significant and recognises that production of the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie [...] has taken place for 100 years in the wider area."⁹⁷ I wanted to question how far the place of production could be extended without destabilising the GI. The legal boundaries of Stilton production are restricted to Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Nottinghamshire. I knew that there was some debate about whether villagers in Stilton (in Cambridgeshire) used to make cheese or whether they merely retailed produce imported from the surrounding area. The conventional perspective is that Stilton was made in Leicestershire. However, in autumn 2009, new evidence emerged which suggested that the village had historically produced some approximation of contemporary Stilton. This data may be enrolled to alter the Stilton boundaries. The Grimsby case appeared to represent an unusual use of boundaries as the fish do not originate from British coastal waters. The PGI restricts the smoking procedure to the political boundaries of Grimsby but permits the raw material to be sourced from anywhere. I was curious to know exactly how much 'Grimsbyness' these apparently out-of-place fish could possess.

The conventional understanding of *terroir* in the GI system is that defined places have specific and unique physical attributes which directly influence the outcome of the food or drink created therein. This appeal to nature may not, however, function so adroitly when the land proves less important than human skills. My first impression was that Melton Mowbray pies were a reputation-based food rather than one predicated on 'natural' *terroir*. I wondered whether any physical element of the pie was essentially place-based. The milk for Stilton derives from Leicestershire,

⁹⁷ Melton Mowbray Pork Pies Registration: Dossier Number UK/PGI/0005/0335 Section 4.3.

Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire. However, I had heard that Stilton could be made from milk sourced beyond these areas. The PDO confirmed that “as production has grown and in particular as demand for Stilton Cheese has increased around the Christmas period, so at times of the year milk will be drawn from further afield.”⁹⁸ I speculated about the importance of the 'natural' conditions and role of *terroir* in Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Nottinghamshire. It did not appear that the Grimsby smokers claimed any *terroir* but the PGI does assert that Grimsby is “least prone to humid rain bearing south westerly winds which prevail in most other parts of the UK. It has a maritime climate, which means that although there are only small fluctuations in seasonal weather [,] on a day to day basis the weather can be changeable.”⁹⁹ I needed to learn more about how these climatic conditions were purportedly able to influence the traditional smoking trade.

The legal definition of each GI determines which foods are the 'authentic' product. The two factors that determine the legal definition of authenticity are the location and style of production. The Melton Mowbray production requirements insist that the pies have a bow-walled pastry shape and use uncured pork. I was curious about the significance of these demands. The Stilton PDO claims that the producers' cheese-making skills are specific to the protected area. It was unclear how such knowledge could be bounded in the hyper-mobile 21st century. The Grimsby smokers assert that the use of smoke-houses means that their product is traditional. I thought that this case would illustrate how the notion of tradition is employed. The PGI states that smoking uses traditional methods rather than electrically heated ovens. I imagined that this distinction was designed to favourably contrast the quality and conditions of production of the smokers' fish with that from their mechanical rivals.

I selected each of these cases in order to target different components of the GI model. I thought that Melton Mowbray could detail the reasons why and the ways in which producers decide to transform place-based foods into protected names. The legal imbroglio would explain the relationship between law and geography with reference to how constructions of 'place' and 'boundaries' are understood by legal actors. Stilton would ideally reveal how *terroir* is applied in the GI structure and whether its producers consider that the 'natural' or 'human' element best justifies protected status. I also chose this case to explain how established PFNs can be challenged by antagonistic actors who aim to modify the established regulations. I hoped that Grimsby would expand my knowledge of how place and boundedness can be

⁹⁸ Stilton Cheese Registration: Dossier Number UK/PDO/0017/0277 Section 4.

⁹⁹ Traditional Grimsby Smoked Fish Registration: Dossier Number UK/PGI/0005/0132 Section 4.6.

understood. I also thought that this case could expose the difference between producer-constructed ideas of 'authenticity' and those of 'tradition'.

I now justify the suitability of a semi-structured approach, explain the partial nature of interview results, engage in the study of 'gatekeepers' and 'elites', contemplate the level of co-operation from sources, determine the importance of industry-specific terminology, consider the location of interviews, indicate the use of legal documentation, and analyse the politics of anonymisation.

III. Interview Techniques and Considerations.

My plan was to unveil how GIs have been initiated, negotiated, and stabilised by the actors responsible for their maintenance, promotion, and expansion. I therefore required access to a variety of producers, the Chairman or Secretary of each applicant group, and policy-makers at the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) and ADAS. These respondents would also need to 'translate' the activities of the non-human participants – pigs, cows, fish, and bacteria – whose participation is vital to create protected foods.

I employed a semi-structured interview format which generated material for later analysis (Schoenberger, 1991; McDowell, 1998; Parry, 1998; Herod, 1999; M. Crang, 2002; Rice, 2010; W. Harvey, 2010). I aimed to have a 'conversation' with my participants rather than a formal interview. The ideal situation is when – to reference Erica Schoenberger's (1991: 183) seminal article about the corporate interview – contact “takes the form of an interactive dialogue rather than an undeviating journey through a fixed selection of question-response pairs, [and so] the intellectual engagement of respondents and, hence, the accuracy and validity of the responses, are likely to be much greater.” She argues that the outcomes of standardised techniques are more easily replicated than those of semi-structured accounts but the latter has more applicability as the information obtained better fits 'reality'. I attempted to be fluid and respond to my interviewees' answers. I needed to focus on the main themes of interest while allowing myself the opportunity to explore tangential answers (see Appendix for a thematic list of questions). I interviewed several producers of each protected name (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: List of interviews.¹⁰⁰

Melton Mowbray Pork Pies.			
Michael Edenborough QC	Barrister	Commissioned by the MMPPA	27 October 2010
Stephen Hallam	Managing Director	Dickinson & Morris	15 October 2010
Ian Hartland	Company Director	Mrs Elizabeth King	14 October 2010
Matthew O'Callaghan	Chairman	Melton Mowbray Pork Pie Association	13 September 2010 / 15 October 2010
Mark Samworth	Managing Director	Samworth Brothers	01 February 2011
Stilton Cheese.			
Billy Kevan	Dairy Manager	Colston Bassett Dairy	22 February 2011
Richard Landy	Spokesman	Stilton Village Campaign	20 May 2011
Bronwen Percival	Buying Manager	Neal's Yard Dairy	27 May 2011
Joe Schneider	Director	Stichelton Dairy	27 May 2011
Stuart Scott	General Manager	Tuxford & Tebbutt Creamery	15 February 2011
David Skailes / Robin Skailes	Directors	Cropwell Bishop Creamery	31 January 2011
Alan Whistone	Operations Director	Quenby Hall Dairy	16 February 2011
Nigel White	Secretary	Stilton Cheesemakers' Association	26 January 2011
Grimsby Traditional Smoked Fish.			
Richard Enderby	Chairman / Director	Grimsby Traditional Smoked Fish Group / Alfred Enderby	23 August 2011
David Atkinson	Director	The Fishwife	24 August 2011
Ian Button	Director	MTL Fish Curers	24 August 2011
Angela King	Factory Manager	Keith Graham	24 August 2011
Steve Millson	Commercial Director	Sealord Caistor	24 August 2011
Mark Wheatley	Director	GH Abernethie	23 August 2011
Governmental.			
Irene Bocchetta	Protected Food Names Manager	ADAS	02 February 2011
Simon Johnson	Policy Advisor, Food Policy Unit	Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs	25 November 2010 / 04 March 2012

¹⁰⁰ I remained in contact with several of the interviewees and, at times, used additional information that they provided. The source of this material is recorded in the footnote text.

The information I acquired illustrates the ways in which my interviewees interpreted their professional lives. This subjectivity is unavoidable as – to quote Jamie Baxter and John Eyles (1997: 515) – “while respondents do not have privileged access to the truth, they do have privileged access to their own opinions and meanings.” Interviewees will invariably translate their perceptions in a partial fashion and – according to Cathy Bailey *et al*'s (2004: 42) oral history of the Foot-and-mouth disease crisis – “narratives rarely simply 'reveal' what someone thinks or feels, any 'truth' is a construction. The construction and portrayal of self comes about through the use of different narratives, depending on place, setting, and audience.” My aim was to investigate the social knowledge which comprises the PFN structure. This data are subjective and hence, to some degree, independent of any underlying 'reality' (James, 2006). This suggests that all knowledge is subjective and partial (Pile, 1991). Allan Cochrane (1998: 2130) argues that “it is important to retain a form of committed scepticism, so that one does not simply believe the stories the elites tell about themselves – but nevertheless, those stories need to be taken seriously in their own right.” Such 'stories' are the data that my informants considered important.

I believed that it would be easier to arrange interviews with producers after I had met the Chairperson or Secretary of the applicant group and thus got my 'foot in the door'. My general tactic was to send an e-mail and follow-up with a telephone call if there was no response within a week. All three (Matthew O'Callaghan, Nigel White, and Richard Enderby) were willing to help. I am unsure whether they are 'gatekeepers' – people in a position of influence who can deny the interviewer access to members of their organisation. McDowell (1998), for example, found that gatekeepers determined the bank employees which she was permitted to interview. By comparison, Nigel White helpfully mentioned my research interests at the SCMA's monthly meeting. I am confident that my relationship with O'Callaghan, White, and Enderby helped to legitimate my study. I thought that memberships of oriGIn (the Organization for an International Network of Geographical Indications) and the Slow Food Movement would enhance my reputation and encourage co-operation as they suggested that I support GIs. My profile on the Queen Mary website¹⁰¹ mentions these memberships although they were never commented upon by producers. In retrospect I do not think they had any impact.

¹⁰¹ Website: www.geog.qmul.ac.uk/staff/ripponm.html

I assumed, at first, that the producers were local 'elites' as their companies had usually been established for decades, often received local or national media attention, and their foods were awarded protected status which suggests a level of exclusivity. The canon of cultural and economic geography has produced numerous studies which have analysed the working behaviour of so-called 'elites' (Cochrane, 1998; McDowell, 1998; Parry, 1998; Herod, 1999; Sabot, 1999; W. Harvey, 2010; Rice, 2010). However, I gradually began to doubt whether the producers could automatically be considered elites. Further, it remained unclear whether my use of this label was helping my research efforts. The putative difference between elite and non-elite sources seemed somewhat contrived and I found it difficult to define what elites are supposed to have in common. The producers were not a homogeneous group. Mark Samworth, for example, is a Managing Director of the Samworth Brothers conglomerate¹⁰² which employs 8,000 people while Ian Button runs MTL Fish Curers which has two employees. This diversity further led me to question whether I was engaged in the 'corporate interview' as many of the firms did not appear 'corporate' (unlike, say, the City of London banks studied by Linda McDowell (1998)). Schoenberger (1991) suggests that interviews with key personnel will reveal the 'character' of the firm. I was not interested in the firm *per se* but more about how decision-makers use protected status, why they acquired it, and how it connects to ideas of place, boundaries, and authenticity.

I found that my potential interviewees were willing to co-operate. I therefore did not have the same problem as Gareth Rice (2010: 73) whose research into shopping malls was harmed because "retailers were most concerned about who else (i.e. their competitors) would see their insights and have access to my final results." He was denied pertinent data considered 'trade secrets'. This issue did not apply to me because there is only so much benefit that, for example, non-Mowbray producers could derive from my research into 'genuine' pies as out-of-place producers are unable to make PGI pies. I believe that this situation encouraged openness. I always stressed that the purpose of each interview was to generate material for my PhD. To that end I would sometimes jokingly remark that: "They're [your comments] not going to appear on the front page of *The Grocer*."¹⁰³ There were occasions where comments were 'not for publication' but this was rare and generally involved anecdotes which I would not have wanted to use. I was also unaffected by the 'interview fatigue' problem described by Steffanie Scott *et al.* (2006) which occurs when people in high demand are deluged

¹⁰² One component of this business is the well-known Ginsters brand.

¹⁰³ A trade publication which provides news for producers in the retail, grocery, and fast-moving consumer goods (FMCG) sectors.

with interview requests. GIs are an increasingly popular topic but I have not seen material which suggests that British producers are in constant demand. Matthew O'Callaghan and Nigel White are often quoted in the national and local media due to events like the British Pie Awards and National Stilton Week while Stephen Hallam of Dickinson & Morris has become a local personality known for all things Meltonian.¹⁰⁴ My perception is that protected food participants are enthusiastic about their craft and wish to share their knowledge with interested parties. They are proud to promote the food and its protected status.

I needed to know the industry-specific language used by the producers. All organisations have their own terminology and the appropriate use of such verbiage signifies one's status as an 'insider'. It was necessary – in order to show producers that I possessed familiarity with their craft – to analyse the websites of the applicant groups (MMPPA, SCMA, and GTFS) as well as those of the individual producers. I also viewed advertising materials, news stories, and press releases. The Melton Mowbray producers, for example, are concerned about 'boil out' when meat juices bubble over the side of the pie and burn, the Stilton-makers use *Penicillium roqueforti* bacteria to encourage the 'blueing' process, while the Grimsby smokers put their smoked fish on 'speats' which are placed in the smoke-house chimneys. The use of such terminology conveys familiarity, reduces confusion, and engenders trust (Russell, 2005). Interview language needed to be clear and hence I avoided using '*terroir*' which is not a commonly used term in the UK even when discussing place-based foods. I instead talked about 'the connection between place and outcome' or asked: 'So do you think that the conditions of the land affect the outcome of your cheese?' This strategy is similar to the linguistic finesse employed by Andrew Herod (1999) who refrained from 'British' terms like 'working class' when researching trade unionism in the US.

The location where interviews are conducted is argued to influence how participants respond to researchers' questions (McDowell, 1998; Sin, 2003; W. Harvey, 2010). Sarah Elwood and Deborah Martin (2000: 652) believe that the "microgeographies of interview locations situate a participant with respect to other actors and to his or her own multiple identities and roles, affecting information that is communicated in the interview." All of my meetings with producers happened at their business premises. If the interview environment does affect responses then these business-like locations would have been beneficial as I wanted to discuss the producers' professional experiences. McDowell (1998) argues that inappropriate locations can

¹⁰⁴ Hallam was the subject of an oral history series of interviews by Polly Russell for the 'National History Collection' at the British Library.

restrict the information provided. She found that bank employees were unwilling to talk about their personal lives when interviewed at their workplace. The opposite happened in my case because I was only interested in producers' business activities and hence required a professional milieu.

I analysed two types of legal documentation. The first were the PDO and PGI regulations. All producers must abide by the stipulations contained therein. The second component was the voluminous courtroom transcriptions of the Melton Mowbray case. I received those thanks to Dev Gangjee of the Department of Law at the London School of Economics (LSE). He had previously acquired the material for his legal paper (2006a) about the case. These documents reveal how lawyers and judges understood the geography of 'Melton Mowbray' and shed light on how the 'genuine' producers were forced to justify their boundary-making schematics. The legal information was supplemented by a wide range of policy reports about GIs from the European Commission (2000, 2008, 2010b), DEFRA (2003a, 2003b, 2008), World Intellectual Property Organization (2003), Countryside Agency (2006), Scottish Government (2009), and Food and Agricultural Organization (2010).

I did not want to anonymise my participants as a lack of names and organisations would have harmed the 'story'. Herod (1999: 324) amusingly notes that “if a researcher is conducting interviews with the President of the United States or the Prime Minister of a particular country [...] it often will make little sense to refer to them simply as 'Unnamed President / Prime Minister'.” The same applied to my cases as it was impossible, for example, to anonymously refer to the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie Association. There is, after all, only one organisation which regulates these pies.

These methodological tactics identified the relevant extant documentation (legal materials and producer websites) and helped to generate new evidence (interview transcriptions). However, to make sense of the voluminous data, it was necessary to employ a strategy that could highlight the most pertinent information in order to appropriately answer the research questions.

IV. Textual Interpretation and Qualitative Data Analysis.

Two main rationales justify the coding of extant or newly-generated materials. First, the process helps to reduce the overwhelming amount of data created by any large qualitative project by distilling the acquired information into key categories.

Second, coding identifies categories of meaning from the data which allows the researcher to make descriptive and conceptual sense of the documentation. The act of closely reading interview transcriptions, textual materials, and websites provides the investigator with a detailed understanding of the topic. Coding enhances this review by extrapolating pertinent data from the text. This process connects the 'voice' of each participant with associated information (such as interview transcriptions of other informants, publicity materials, and photographs). The patterns revealed by coding can also help the researcher to formulate questions for subsequent interviews.

Meghan Cope (2010b) explains that four styles of coding can be applied: 'open', 'axial', 'selective', and '*in vivo*'. 'Open' coding involves the researcher scrutinising the data and using it to generate category names. 'Axial' coding follows one particularly interesting idea. 'Selective' coding targets a core interest but ascribes less importance to the remaining information. '*In vivo*' coding uses respondents' words (rather than those of the researcher) to generate the codes. However, Cope argues (2010b: 445) that coding is not a 'scientific' procedure but "one that is inevitably circular, sporadic, and, frankly, messy [because] it is not a clear, linear process for which you can follow step-by-step instructions and at some point say that you are 'done'."

I coded both 'pre-existing' documentation (the PFN regulations, websites of producer groups and individual manufacturers, and the Melton Mowbray trial documentation) as well as 'self-generated' materials (interview transcriptions). I started my coding process by fully transcribing each interview. This time-consuming process enhanced my familiarity with the material. I carefully read each text on several occasions. I ensured that some time had passed between these readings as I invariably found that I was able to 'see' details and ideas which had previously been overlooked. I highlighted (by hand) specific words or sentences which I thought could be used to help answer the research questions. These codes included 'authenticity', 'boundaries', 'brand', 'culture', 'economic', 'heritage', 'history', 'moral', 'price', 'protection', 'skills', '*terroir*', and 'tradition'. Each case had specific terminology. The material from the Stilton producers, for example, included terms like 'milk', 'pasteurised', 'pooled', 'safety', 'three counties', and 'unpasteurised'. These terms were absent from the other studies. The descriptive codes were specific while the thematic codes encompassed all cases. My aim was to discover patterns based on the repeated use of words in order to determine the issues that producers and regulators consider important. There is some debate about whether 'open' or '*in vivo*' coding provides the more rigorous approach. Paul Cloke *et al.* (2004: 315) stress that although '*in vivo*' codes use the interviewees'

own words “it is still the analyst who selects which specific words are to be used out of the hundreds [thousands?] spoken in the course of a typical interview, and such a selection cannot but be influenced by the world-view, interests, and existing knowledge and concepts of the researcher.” This suggested to me that there was limited difference between the 'open' and '*in vivo*' approaches. I therefore decided to exclusively use 'open' coding. I did not engage in 'axial' coding as I was not following a particular category. Moreover, I was not so 'selective' that I focused on a single idea.

Cope (2010a) indicates that an analysis of descriptive codes can show 'conditions' (what happened to actors at certain times), 'interaction among the actors' (how participants engage with each other), 'strategies and tactics' (how people operate in certain situations), and 'consequences' (the resolution of the 'conditions'). So, for example, in my case, 'conditions' included producer experiences prior to protection when non-conforming manufacturers were able to make 'their' product; 'interaction among the actors' referenced conflicts or co-operation between producers; 'strategies and tactics' involved the creation of producer groups and subsequent demands for protected status; and 'consequences' referred to the ways that producers today perform their protected status which results from their past experiences. However, the codes I generated with this approach were primarily descriptive rather than conceptual. The coding of my interview with Mark Wheatley (one of the Grimsby fish smokers) indicates this situation (see Table 3.2).

My aim was to connect the data depicted by the descriptive coding to a more theoretical exploration of the topic. In this thesis, the analytic themes derive from my research questions. Coding was therefore deployed to help address the established research themes. The thematic codes I generated from the descriptive categories included 'authenticity', 'boundaries', 'history', 'place', 'quality', and 'tradition'. The ideas encapsulated in these codes are theoretical rather than descriptive. So, for example, 'authenticity' indicates that a GI is considered by its producers to have been made in the mandated place and to use the regulated methods of production. 'Authenticity' does not exist *per se* but derives from adherence to certain notions of place and production style. Similarly, 'place' is also a social construction as the protected area did not occur 'naturally' but was inaugurated for political reasons. The thematic approach is illustrated through analysis of a legal transcription (see Table 3.3) which enabled me to appreciate the constructions legal actors deem important.

Table 3.2: Descriptive codes generated from interview transcription of Mark Wheatley.

Code	Example
Auction	“I prefer to support the market because without that we [the smokers] haven't got a job.”
Cod Wars	“The Cod Wars did kill a lot of those [smokers] off because it stopped us getting the fish from Iceland. A lot of the boats were scrapped, a lot were decommissioned.”
Crisis	“When the Icelandic crisis was on – the British government in their 'wisdom' blocked any money from being sent. But if they blocked the money – we haven't got any fish and we've got no industry.”
Inspection	“We do get checked by Trading Standards. I've only had them in last week or the week before and they check everything that we're doing is as per the PGI.”
Quota	“When you [the trawler operator] get to June and you've caught your 98 [out of 100], you've got two boxes left to catch. Do you do it now or do you wait all July and August to catch them because fish is very highly priced because there's a shortage due to the quotas.”
Weather	“There's no point in promoting something when you can't get the product that you want to promote, your raw material is not in the best of condition, the actual process is not at its finest due to the inclement weather – too hot, too muggy, or throwing it down with rain.”

Table 3.3: Thematic codes developed from Northern Foods Plc (Claimant) v The Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defendant) in the High Court of Justice (20 May 2005) Detailed Statement of Grounds.

Code	Example
Boundaries [social construction of]	“This [proposed protected zone] is an area of around 1,800 square miles including the towns and cities of Leicester, Loughborough, Northampton, Nottingham, Grantham, Stamford, Kettering, and Wellingborough.”
Fraud [how to interpret 'truth']	“A label informing consumers that a pie originates in Melton Mowbray when it has in fact been made in Northampton does not constitute an accurate identification of the product's geographical origin. It is in fact highly misleading.”
Law [interpretation of]	“The PGI proposed by the MMPA did not comply with that requirement [in the PFN legislation] as it would grant PGI protection to pork pies that were made in places other than Melton Mowbray.”
Place [social construction of]	“As a matter of everyday language, a pork pie produced in Northampton cannot be said to originate in the town of Melton Mowbray or even the borough of Melton.”
Place [social construction of]	“In the original application, the relevant geographical area was defined as 'the town of Melton Mowbray and its surrounding district'.”

It is not only interview transcriptions and legal documentation that can be analysed in this way. The same approach was applied to the producer websites which represent a combination of textual and visual data. The Dickinson & Morris website

provides one example. The page 'Our Heritage'¹⁰⁵ is replete with a plethora of evocative terms such as 'authentic', 'by hand', 'crest', 'distinctive', 'last remaining', 'oldest', 'parchment', and 'traditional'. 'Who We Are'¹⁰⁶ depicts hand-wrapped Melton Mowbrays emblazoned with the prominent words 'since 1851' alongside an artist's depiction of *Ye Olde Pork Pie Shoppe* with its Tudor façade. The conceptual code for these webpages is that of 'authenticity' as the terminology and imagery strongly suggest that the company manufactures 'authentic' pork pies.

Photography is a tool which can effectively depict geographical processes (Rose, 2008). I believe it is particularly helpful when the text explains an unfamiliar situation. I describe, for example, the production process of Grimsby fish and supplement this information with photographs (see Plates 6.1-6.4) as it is unlikely that readers will be familiar with the intricacies of traditional fish smoking. I documented two events: the British Pie Awards of 2011 and the early morning fish auction on the Grimsby Docks (see Plates 4.7-4.9 and 6.7-6.8). However, the post-structuralist approach is sceptical about the legitimacy of this method as photographs apparently conceal as much as they make visible (Hall, 2009). Rickie Sanders (2007: 182) claims that “the major shortcoming of the photograph is that it is 'linguistically reflective' and 'inauthentic'. The camera does not act; it has no agency. It is the picture taker who decides what to photograph and which perspective to capture.” I think that – while researchers should acknowledge the selectiveness of visual methodologies – it is excessive to claim that photography cannot accurately demonstrate existence.

An additional methodological technique would have been to study the 'iconography' of the labels and packaging materials. I did not employ this particular visual methodology because I regard the representation of specific foods to be less central to this work than the mechanisms by which the GI system as a whole is socially constructed. This is reflected by my research questions which interrogate broad notions of place, boundaries, *terroir*, and authenticity and question how they are operationalised in the GI structure. Nonetheless, it may be instructive to illustrate the way in which this iconographic investigation could have occurred. Rob Bartram (2010: 133), in his analysis of visual methodologies, notes that “cultural signs have systems of reference points – referents – that allow us to interpret their complex and interconnected meanings.” The label of a 'Co-operative Rich & Creamy Blue Stilton' (see Plate 5.1) provides a number of symbolic codes that can be interpreted. The top right-hand corner shows the Union Flag which no doubt references Stilton's

¹⁰⁵ Website: www.porkpie.co.uk/ourheritage.asp

¹⁰⁶ Website: www.porkpie.co.uk/whoweare.asp

'Britishness'. Then there are four logos – the PDO, Red Tractor, the SCMA CTM, and the International Cheese Awards Gold medal. These suggest that this Stilton is not only high quality but is superior to its competitors due to the gold award. Located under the nutritional information (which shows that the cheese contains low levels of salt and sugar) is a bucolic countryside scene (presumably a location where the ruminants graze). There is a stone wall at the very bottom of the label which infers that the area where the cows feed is segmented from less desirable locations. The labels of 'Hand-wrapped Cropwell Bishop Blue and Organic Blue Stilton' (see Plate 5.3) are far less colourful than Plate 5.1 but the small label is saturated with similar logos. The waxy hand-wrapped paper adorned with Cropwell Bishop Creamery imagery enhances the distinctiveness of the cheese from that which is retailed at mainstream points of sale like supermarkets. The iconography on these labels is designed to promote the narrative that these cheeses are 'natural', 'rural', and 'unspoilt' and hence 'authentic' while the logos suggest they possess 'quality'. The labels indicate that producers want consumers to regard place-based foods (like GIs) as special and thus conceptually different from goods whose producers cannot claim a dedicated connection to a defined location.

This chapter sought to justify the selection of case studies by detailing the questions raised by my preliminary investigation of Melton Mowbray Pork Pies, Stilton Cheese, and Grimsby Traditional Smoked Fish. The methodological techniques employed were designed to facilitate the acquisition of useful data and to access both overt and concealed actors. Coding was used to extract the most relevant material obtained from interview transcriptions, the legal documentation, and producer websites. The next chapter introduces the town of Melton Mowbray which is best-known for its pork pies. It reveals how the long-fought battle for protected status created some interesting and – at times – unorthodox constructions of place.

Chapter IV

'Manufacturing' Melton Mowbray: Place, Boundaries, and the 'Authentic' Pork Pie.

I. A Meaty Issue.

Melton Mowbray Pork Pies are one of the best known regional British foods. This geographical name evokes images of high quality place-based production. Knowledgeable purveyors of this delicacy may even recall the recent media blitz generated when the pies were finally awarded protected status. However, even devoted pie aficionados are unlikely to know the controversial ways in which its producers mobilised selective notions of geography, history, and law to claim protected status. The Melton Mowbray case demonstrates how the Protected Food Names (PFN) system operates in the UK and reveals how constructions of place, boundaries, tradition, and authenticity were deployed to turn a place-based food into a protected name.

I begin this chapter by scrutinising the formation of the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie Association (MMPPA)¹⁰⁷ and detail the rationales its members invoked to justify protected status. I explain how protection has created a contrast between pork pies made in the Melton Mowbray area and those produced externally. Protected status has also allowed the town to be 'consumed' as a popular gastro-tourism destination replete with an ever-growing number of food festivals and award ceremonies. The creation of a protected name requires that a coherent past be defined. A particular interpretation of the local history, combined with a purportedly consistent use of traditional methods of production, was used to initialise the contemporary borders. I next trace how the bounded place at the heart of this Geographical Indication (GI) was negotiated into being and consider why and how the apparently fixed borders expanded at opportune moments. The contested application of the history of Melton Mowbray production resulted in litigation from a powerful rival that suddenly found itself positioned 'out-of-place'. The legal material is employed to expose the hidden infrastructure of this case. The investigation continues with an analysis of 'authenticity' which juxtaposes 'genuine' pies to the supposed 'inauthenticity' of those produced out-of-place. I start this chapter by explaining the events that initiated the demand for protected status.

¹⁰⁷ Website: www.mmppa.co.uk

II. Rationales for the Protection of the 'Authentic' Pork Pie.

The catalyst which created the MMPPA and initiated the quest for protected status occurred in 1998 in the perhaps incongruous setting of a Marks & Spencer food hall. A long-time resident of Melton Mowbray – Matthew O'Callaghan – was nonchalantly browsing through the bakery section when his eyes were unavoidably drawn to what he regarded as a most unusual and disconcerting sight. He explains with considerable feeling the precise moment when his mission to gain protected status began:

“I remember looking at some Melton Mowbray Pork Pies and I thought: This is nowhere near like a Melton Mowbray Pork Pie. It [the pie] had got parchment wrapping on it and had in fine scripted letters 'Melton Mowbray' all over it. When you looked – it was straight sided. I knew Mowbrays are bow-sided and it had pink [cured meat] inside. It wasn't made anywhere near Melton Mowbray. It was made in Trowbridge¹⁰⁸ in Wiltshire [in South West England]. It's not made anywhere near Melton Mowbray but the writing gives the impression it's got a Melton Mowbray connection. It doesn't use the proper ingredients. It's using cured pork instead of fresh pork and it's not made according to what we [locals] would regard as a proper Melton Mowbray recipe.”¹⁰⁹

It is important to understand the rationale for O'Callaghan's opprobrium. As a County Councillor for the Melton area – whose position required in-depth knowledge of Melton's most famous food – he was shocked that these 'interlopers' were branded with the famous Mowbray name. O'Callaghan felt that the local pie industry had exclusively developed in and around Melton Mowbray. He considered the Marks & Spencer pies improperly named because they failed to meet three essential criteria: the locus of production (that they be produced in or at least around Melton Mowbray), that they be 'correctly' manufactured to 'traditional' standards (which include a bow-sided construction), and that they contain the 'right' ingredients (a minimum 30 percent uncured pork although ideally somewhat higher).

¹⁰⁸ Trowbridge is located in the county of Wiltshire about 20 kilometres from Bath.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Matthew O'Callaghan (Chairman, Melton Mowbray Pork Pie Association), 13 September 2010.

O'Callaghan's perspective challenged the mainstream view which for decades had effaced the geographical specificity of the Melton Mowbray name. In 1998, a 'Melton Mowbray' was merely a catchy and possibly generic name for a pork pie. It could be (and was) made anywhere in the country using any kind of ingredients. This meant that there were two types of 'Melton Mowbrays'. The first kind – the apparently genuine article – was made in and around Melton Mowbray. The second type – what O'Callaghan regarded as pretenders – used the Melton Mowbray label but were made externally. His concern was that out-of-place production not only competed with the 'legitimate' model but might actually replace it in the public mindset and lead consumers to assume that 'Melton Mowbray' was a non-geographical term.

O'Callaghan immediately informed Trading Standards¹¹⁰ about this 'counterfeiting'. He wanted to stop the wholesale 'abuse' of the Melton name as his ongoing and now-voluminous investigation had discovered that Marks & Spencer was but one of many contravening retailers. His scrutiny revealed that no less than 45 percent of all 'Melton Mowbray' production was 'inauthentic'. He demanded that pies made in an 'incorrect' place which used 'inferior' production methods be prohibited from using the 'good name' of Melton Mowbray. His complaint was taken seriously by Trading Standards who contacted Marks & Spencer. Communication flowed liberally between all three parties. However, the management of Marks & Spencer was not persuaded by O'Callaghan's appeal and refused to re-brand their pies. This was understandable as the 'Melton Mowbray' name suggested pies of premium quality. Trading Standards – despite their previous advocacy – then claimed that the existing legal structure was inapplicable as a geographical name could not be protected like other forms of Intellectual Property (IP) such as trademarks. Matthew O'Callaghan details his unsatisfactory interaction with Trading Standards:

“So they [Trading Standards] wrote to Marks & Spencer and said: 'Well, we'll see how far we could get with a prosecution' but they soon came back and said it was not possible – that there wasn't a sufficient degree of protection under English law, that it was very vague as to what a Melton Mowbray was, and lots of reasons as to why they couldn't pursue it. So I looked for other avenues of protection.”¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Trading Standards is a government body which enforces a wide range of legislation designed to protect consumer rights.

¹¹¹ Matthew O'Callaghan (MMPPA), 13/09/10.

The inability of the law to protect geographical nomenclature led to the quest for protected status. O'Callaghan swiftly scoured the town and vicinity of Melton Mowbray and sought out producers who were making what he considered to be the 'genuine product'. These manufacturers then met to discuss their concerns not only about the Marks & Spencer 'scandal' but additionally with what they considered to be the gradual yet systematic decline of the entire Melton Mowbray industry. But anger over the so-called 'free-riding' of the Melton Mowbray name would not result in lasting changes without concerted action. The producers needed to create an organisation – the MMPPA – that would fight for their cause.

It should not be assumed that the creation of the MMPPA was a simple affair.¹¹² There was no personal animosity between the producers although a natural competitiveness did exist. Each producer, understandably, wanted a larger piece of the pie. The national pork pie market was, in 1998, worth £160 million of which the Melton Mowbray slice totalled £50 million.¹¹³ It was one thing to have a few meetings, quite another to form an Association, and it was even more ambitious to collectively request protected status. An ironic advantage of the post-War decline in local Mowbray production was that the limited number of pork pie makers meant there was less dissent when discussing the direction of the nascent MMPPA. Mark Samworth (the Managing Director of Samworth Brothers¹¹⁴ which is the largest MMPPA member) reveals that:

“By 1998, there weren't very many [local Melton Mowbray producers] left so getting consensus was – I'm not going to say easy – but not impossible. If you contrast that with some of the other Associations – getting an agreement on what the recipe should be was next to impossible. Just how do you bring a number of people together to agree that there's an issue, agree that they should spend time dealing with it, and agree with what the recipe should be? It is difficult to get everybody to pull in the same direction because everybody has a slightly different recipe. Your Aunty Mabel's [recipe] is better than your Uncle Joe's and it's a matter of family pride. It's such an emotional thing and it gets more difficult the more processed the product [is]. The Melton Pie was the first processed product to get a

¹¹² It is not mandatory for producers to belong to the applicant group. Companies can make genuine Melton Mowbrays without joining the MMPPA.

¹¹³ Presentation from Matthew O'Callaghan at the PFN Conference, Perth Racecourse, Scotland, December 2009.

¹¹⁴ Website: www.samworthbrothers.co.uk

PGI. Cheese is easy, beer is easy, but when you bring together meat, pastry, and spices – it's a more complicated affair.”¹¹⁵

Each pie-maker (see Table 4.1) possessed a specific recipe which they were unwilling to share. Producers use a particular type of salt or pepper or insist on the addition of a select compound of spices to generate customer loyalty and differentiate their pies from competitors. The desire to protect 'trade secrets' is a serious business. Producers refused to tell me specific details about their ingredients or unique production techniques. Melton producers may not have the financial needs that protect Coca-Cola's 'secret formula', or Kentucky Fried Chicken's 'secret recipe' but they do operate in a sphere of production which necessitates the protection of proprietary information. Matthew O'Callaghan vividly remembers his investigation into the 'intellectual property' of each producer:

“The first step was to say: 'OK, how do you make your pies?'
Now everybody knows roughly how each of the others makes their pies but there's always these funny secrets locked in the vault for 2,000 years or whatever. And one of them said: 'I use rice.' 'Rice? Why do you use rice?' 'Well, my dad used rice'.
'Oh, gosh. And what do you [a different producer] use?'”¹¹⁶

The MMPPA were dissatisfied with the production methods of out-of-place manufacturers and believed that conditions would worsen still further. This assumption was predicated on their insider knowledge of the cost-cutting tendencies within the pork pie industry. They were not only concerned by the unstable status of a 'Melton Mowbray' but also about the prospect that supermarkets might arbitrarily reduce meat content or insist on higher levels of salt. The producers argue that they had limited control over the pies' style, type, quantity and quality of meat, and ingredients. They believed that the supermarket chains were able to dictate the very definition of a Melton Mowbray. Pork pie makers throughout the country were producing pies to order. If one producer objected to a request then that supermarket buyer would simply migrate to one of their numerous competitors. MMPPA members claimed that they were forced to compromise their fundamental principles out of economic necessity. They alleged that the supermarkets endorsed agri-food mechanisms where profit was the overriding rationale. It was therefore 'business-as-usual' for supermarkets to demand that Melton pie-makers ignored their traditional

¹¹⁵ Mark Samworth (Samworth Brothers), 31/01/11.

¹¹⁶ Matthew O'Callaghan (MMPPA), 13/09/10.

Table 4.1: Melton Mowbray Pork Pie producers:¹¹⁷ January 2013.

Name of Producer¹¹⁸	Location	Member code¹¹⁹
Brocklebys	Asfordby Hill, Melton Mowbray	MMo8
Dickinson & Morris ¹²⁰	Melton Mowbray	MMo3
Dunkleys	Wellingborough, Northamptonshire	MM11
F Bailey & Son	Upper Broughton, Melton Mowbray	MMo1
Hartland Pies ¹²¹	Cotgrave, Nottinghamshire	MM11
Leesons Butchers	Oakham, Leicestershire	MM10
Mark Patrick Butchers	Birstall, Leicester	MMo6
Mrs Kings Pork Pies	Cotgrave, Nottinghamshire	MMo5
Nelsons Family Butchers	Stamford, Lincolnshire	MMo7
Northfield Farm ¹²²	Oakham, Leicestershire	MMo9
Pork Farms ¹²³	Nottingham	MM50
Samworth Brothers (Walkers & Son) ¹²⁴	Beaumont Leys, Leicestershire	MMo4

methods in pursuit of economic efficiencies. Stephen Hallam (the Managing Director of Dickinson & Morris¹²⁵ which is the only producer based in the town) reveals the behaviour to which producers were subjected in the years before protection:

“He [a supermarket buyer] turned around to the supplier that was making pies for them and said: 'I want you to change the meat from natural pork to cured pork.' 'Why are you doing that?' 'Well it sells better.' 'Well you can't call it a Melton Mowbray Pork Pie.' 'Yes, I can. I can do what I like.' When you're in the 'own label'¹²⁶ business you're making a product for somebody else. You don't necessarily have control of your destiny. They [the supermarkets] own you.”¹²⁷

¹¹⁷ Most of these producers do not exclusively sell protected pies but also retail a wide range of bakery goods. Four members are butchers who supply a variety of meats. I interviewed producers whose Mowbray production is central to their business.

¹¹⁸ Chappell's Fine Foods (Wigston, Leicestershire) went into liquidation in December 2009.

¹¹⁹ The member code identifies the producer and should be on all packaging. Melton Mowbrays sold at Tesco (see Plate 4.1) show MMo4 which indicates that Samworth Brothers is the supplier.

¹²⁰ Dickinson & Morris was purchased by Samworth Brothers in 1992.

¹²¹ Hartland Pies was formed in early 2012.

¹²² Northfield Farm's Melton Mowbray production is currently in hiatus.

¹²³ Pork Farms is not a member of the MMPPA.

¹²⁴ Samworth Brothers is not – technically speaking – a member of the MMPPA. Walkers – a subsidiary of Samworth Brothers – is a member. Samworth Brothers purchased Walkers in 1986 and built the Charnwood Bakery in Leicester in 1989. I refer to Samworth Brothers (rather than Walkers) because I interviewed Mark Samworth (the Managing Director).

¹²⁵ Website: www.porkpie.co.uk.

¹²⁶ 'Own label' means that the supermarket will use its own name on the product (see Plate 4.1).

¹²⁷ Interview with Stephen Hallam (Managing Director, Dickinson & Morris), 15 October 2010.

Plate 4.1: Melton Mowbray Pork Pies made by Samworth Brothers for Tesco.



An example of this lack of control was evidenced by supermarket buyers who demanded a low meat content in order to create inexpensive pies which were sold in bulk. The MMPPA were concerned that consumers would assume that a pie with a miserable 20 percent meat content could constitute a 'genuine' Melton Mowbray. This was considered harmful to the reputation of the 'real' pie makers, was thought to disappoint pie-loving consumers who might refuse to make repeat purchases, and it was believed that the creation of a wide variety of pies made in various permutations with a selection of sub-standard inputs from multitudinous locations would increase the likelihood that the name would become ageographical. Mark Samworth details this worrying situation:

“The vast majority of the pork pie market was 'own label' and sold through the supermarkets and therefore the recipe was in the control of the supermarket buyers, some of whom we [the MMPPA] felt inevitably would want to make changes detrimental to the quality of the product. It was quite offensive

that Asda were out there selling a 'Melton Mowbray' pork pie with pink [cured] meat and 20 percent meat content.”¹²⁸

An economic concern was that this lack of definition meant that Melton Mowbrays were meandering towards generic status. 'Genericism' is the apex of concern for producers who wish to protect the cachet of their name. This process occurs when a product can no longer be protected by IP because, over time, the name has become understood as a referring to a genre rather than a specific product. 'Aspirin', 'cellophane', and 'escalator' used to be trademarks but are now generic. The British public uses 'Hoover' to mean 'vacuum cleaner' and 'Thermos' to signify an 'insulated flask'. The PFN regulation states that a food becomes generic when “the name of an agricultural product or a foodstuff which, although it relates to the place or the region where this product or foodstuff was originally produced or marketed, has become the common name of an agricultural product or a foodstuff.”¹²⁹ The MMPPA was extremely concerned that 'Melton Mowbray' would become a common and ill-defined name associated with a general style of pie rather than refer to one baked free-standing which required uncured meat which originated from the Melton area. Matthew O'Callaghan elucidates these concerns:

“When we [the MMPPA] started [our campaign] we were in danger of the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie becoming generic for two reasons. One is that a lot was being made outside [the area] and becoming ingrained there [externally]. Also, we were in danger of people's perception of a Melton Mowbray being that it was pink [cured] inside and straight-sided [rather than bow-sided]. When the original scheme for Protected Food Names was set up – the UK government sent the European Commission a list of products they defined as generic.¹³⁰ Fortunately, Melton Mowbrays weren't on it.”¹³¹

¹²⁸ Interview with Mark Samworth (Samworth Brothers), 31 January 2011.

¹²⁹ Council Regulation (EEC) No 2081/92 of 14 July 1992 on the Protection of Geographical Indications and Designations of Origin for Agricultural Products and Foodstuffs Article 3 Paragraph 1.

¹³⁰ Regulation 2081/92 Article 3 Paragraph 3 states that “the Council [...] shall draw up and publish in the Official Journal of the European Communities a non-exhaustive, indicative list of the names of agricultural products or foodstuffs which are within the scope of this Regulation and are regarded under the terms of paragraph 1 as being generic and thus not able to be registered under this Regulation.” The Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (MAFF) (replaced by DEFRA in June 2001) created a list of generic British names which included Bakewell Tarts, Cheddar Cheese, Cheshire Cheese, Devon Fudge, Dover Sole, Dundee Cake, Eccles Cakes, Kendal Mint Cake, Gloucester Cheese, Wensleydale Cheese, and Yorkshire Bitter. 'EC Regulations on the Protection of Geographical Indications and Designations of Origin and on Certificates of Specific Character', MAFF internal communication, 08 December 1992.

¹³¹ Matthew O'Callaghan (MMPPA), 13/09/10.

It was not just the producers who were apparently exploited by the dissolute geography. The in-place producers also claim that consumers were manipulated when they purchased out-of-place 'Melton Mowbrays'. The MMPPA asserts that external pork pie manufacturers were guilty of 'passing off' their Mowbray branded pies as the 'real thing'. The British mindset connects Melton Mowbray with pork pies of exceptional quality and thus consumers were supposedly misled when they purchased 'Melton Mowbrays' which bore minimal resemblance to local creations. Stephen Hallam's inventive comparison demonstrates his outrage:

“Fundamentally, it's [protection] a right. You [the consumer] don't want to be duped. If you go and buy a Rolls Royce and you're paying for it – you want to buy a Rolls Royce. You don't want to rely on a Robin Reliant being 'passed off'. So that [‘passing off’] was fundamentally wrong.”¹³²

The MMPPA believed that consumers wanted to not only enjoy the taste of the pies but additionally to 'buy' a connection to Melton Mowbray. They stated that consumers would assume that a pork pie branded with the 'Melton Mowbray' name must have been created in the town or nearby area. Similarly, in the case of *Argyllshire Weavers vs. A Macaulay (Tweeds) Ltd* (1964), the Judge ruled that Harris Tweed's reputation partially derived from “the economic plight and hardship of the inhabitants of the Outer Hebrides” and therefore “people who buy this cloth are not only buying a piece of cloth; they are buying an association with the Hebrides” (Nair and Kumar, 2005: 59). A food, over time, develops a qualitative connection between its geographical region, its appearance, taste, and traditional methods of production which combines to create a commercially valuable reputation. This attachment to place and tradition allows purchasers – according to Stephen Hallam – to 'consume' both pies and place:

“The whole process [of protection] is about protecting the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie: its recipe, its reputation, making sure none of that's compromised – you're protecting the consumer so they know what it is they're buying: that it is what it says it is on the label. It's also about protecting the reputation of the town of Melton Mowbray and its tourist economy – which is big. It reinforces the town's position as

¹³² Stephen Hallam (Dickinson & Morris), 15/10/10.

being at the heart of a rural economy. You're buying a piece of Melton Mowbray not just a pie.”¹³³

None of the producers thought that protected status *per se* appealed to consumers. Samworth informed me that PGI certification¹³⁴ is of no interest to consumers: “all the market research that we do across lots of different product categories – it's never a conversation.”¹³⁵ However, producers understand that – while British consumers are unlikely to demand protected foods – they are looking for geographical essentialism, quality, tradition, and a 'story' which producers can encapsulate through the acquisition of protected status. Matthew O'Callaghan describes the type of consumer who would 'splash out' on a Melton Mowbray rather than purchase a cheaper 'own brand' pork pie:

“People – when they buy a Melton Mowbray Pork Pie – have a conception of themselves: I'm a connoisseur. I'm actually going to investigate all the pork pies available and choose the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie and I'm doing it because of what I think about myself as well as the taste and flavour [of the pie]. If you're buying a Melton Mowbray Pork Pie – you see yourself as someone who goes for premium products, who is knowledgeable and discerning, and has specifically gone somewhere where that pie is on sale and – out of the range of pies – selected that one. You're a discerning consumer and you've gone for a top of the range premium product.”¹³⁶

The MMPPA claimed that pork pies of quality had 'always' been made in and around Melton Mowbray. They thus considered the name to be their 'intellectual property'. These producers believed that the use of apparently traditional methods of production over a sustained period of time in the general Melton area was sufficient to warrant protected status. Protection would define the location of production, style of manufacture, and permitted ingredients. It would allow the local producers to control

¹³³ Stephen Hallam (Dickinson & Morris), 15/10/10.

¹³⁴ Consumers are also saturated by a myriad of logos and labels. The best known Quality Food Assurance Scheme (QFAS) is the 'Red Tractor' (found on chicken, pork, lamb, beef, fruit, vegetables, sugar, and dairy products) which guarantees quality and origin. It has an expansive remit and is well-known unlike PFNs. Other examples include 'Freedom Food' (found on meat, poultry, salmon, dairy, and egg products) which indicates that the food is produced according to Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA) welfare standards, the 'Linking Environment and Funding' or 'LEAF Marque' (found on seasonal produce like fruit, vegetables, meat, and flowers) which means that production is based on responsible holistic principles, and the 'Soil Association' (for food, beauty products, and textiles) which must be organic. These QFAS schemes encourage consumers to look for their logos rather than those of protected names. They act as agents of confusion which complicate the certificate-heavy British foodscape.

¹³⁵ Mark Samworth (Samworth Brothers), 31/01/11.

¹³⁶ Matthew O'Callaghan (MMPPA), 15/10/10.

the very essence of a Melton Mowbray. This scenario would give the MMPPA exactly what they desired but would devastate out-of-place companies who would no longer be able to use the famous Mowbray name. Economic profits were crucial yet the desire to own the heritage denoted by the 'Melton Mowbray' name appears an equally powerful impetus for protection. This need to conserve and promote history is deeply-felt. Mark Samworth explains the personal dimension to what the uninitiated may assume was a straightforward commercial decision:

“The rationale [to obtain protection] was two-fold. First, as a matter of quite personal pride – I was born in Melton and so the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie is a particularly personal thing for us so anything we could do to support it – we felt was worthwhile doing. There's the personal side and – irrespective of whether we're a large or small producer – we would have wanted to support it [the PGI]. Second, on the commercial side – we felt it was important because the recipe [as it then was] didn't define what went into a Melton Mowbray Pork Pie. There was a minimum standard for a pork pie and that was about it.”¹³⁷

Melton Mowbrays received protected status in June 2009. A benefit of protection is the altered balance of power between the producers and supermarkets. A supermarket purchaser could still ask an in-place producer to violate the regulations (though this would be highly improbable) but manufacturers now have a valid excuse for their refusal. A 'genuine' Melton Mowbray must now “have a bow-walled pastry case giving them [the pies] their characteristic bow shape. The pastry is golden brown in colour with a rich texture. The pork filling is uncured and therefore grey in colour – the colour of roast pork. The texture filling is moist and particulate.”¹³⁸ All producers must comply with the visual and physical requirements of the PGI regulation (see Plates 4.2 and 4.3). This means that a supermarket buyer who, for example, desired cured meat could no longer target a different producer. Supermarkets cannot move to external 'Melton Mowbray' providers because they no longer exist. Matthew O'Callaghan indicates how protected status has changed the power relations between producers and retailers:

“We had [in the past] our manufacturers who believed in the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie having to make a non-compliant 'Melton Mowbray Pork Pie'. They were being told – use cured

¹³⁷ Mark Samworth (Samworth Brothers), 31/01/11.

¹³⁸ Melton Mowbray PGI Section 4.2.

Plate 4.2: External appearance of a Melton Mowbray.

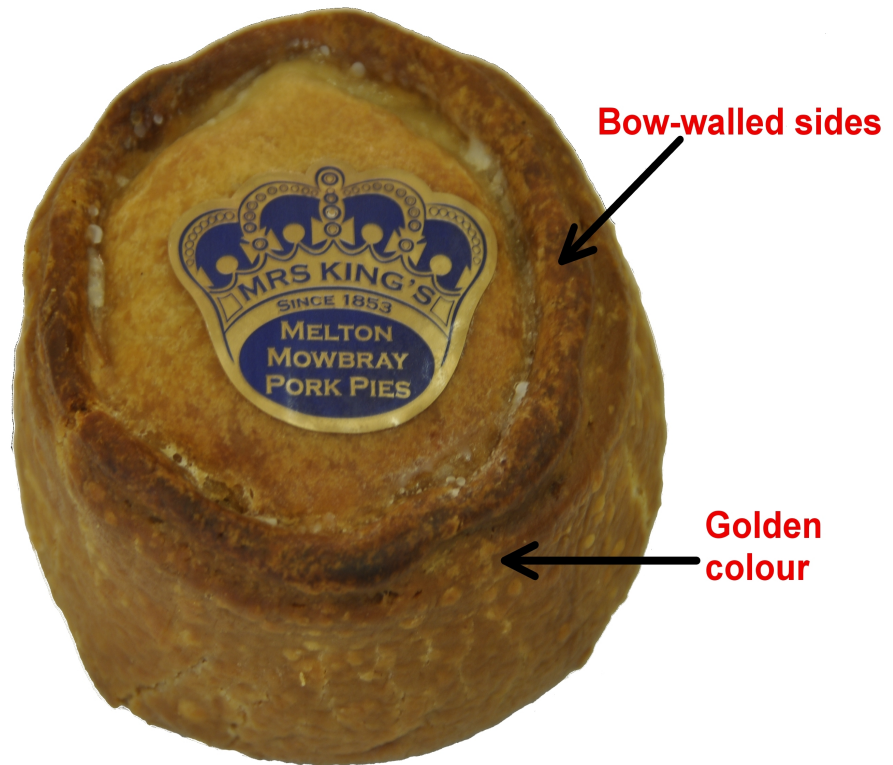
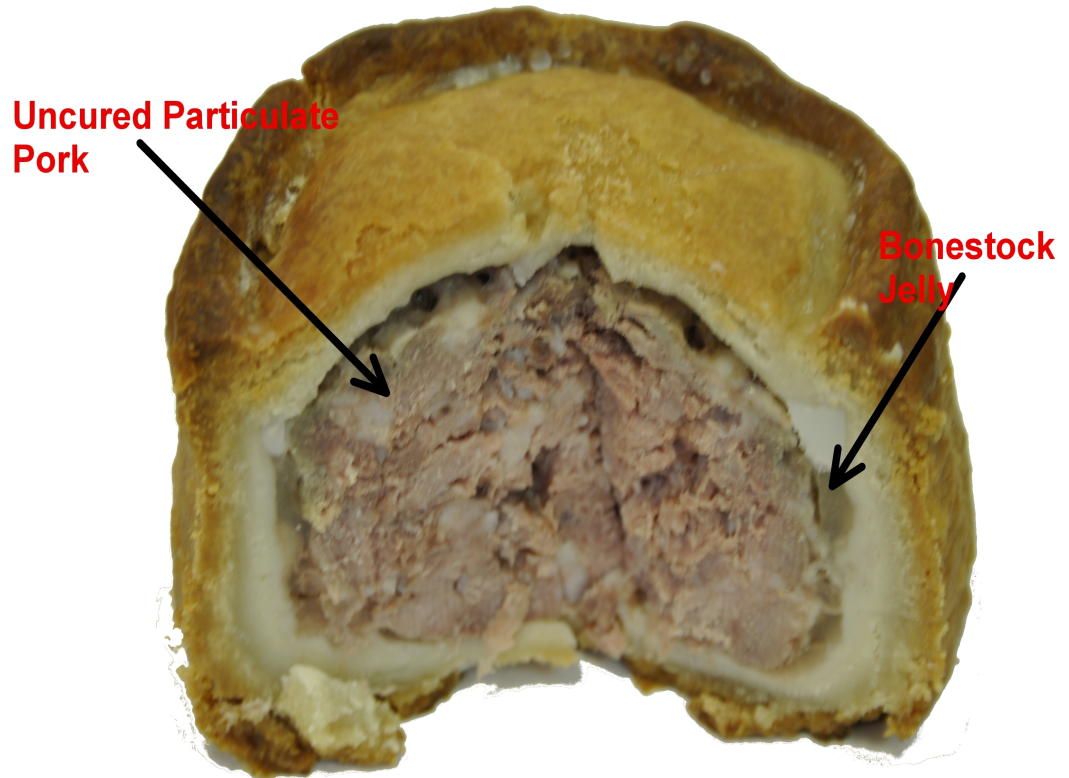


Plate 4.3: Anatomy of a Melton Mowbray.



pork and they were saying: 'We don't want to'. They [the supermarkets] said: 'Well if you're selling to us, you will use cured pork', and because it [the supermarket trade] was such a large part of the business – they [local producers] had to [comply]. It [the PGI] actually shifts the balance in terms of you and the supermarkets. You can now say to the supermarket: 'We will not add a preservative, we will not add this, we will not add that, because we're not allowed to'.”¹³⁹

It was not only the larger retailers who were vilified for their 'exploitation' of the 'Melton Mowbray' name. Small bakers and market-traders found it tempting to claim that their pies were authentic. All 'counterfeiters' irrespective of size were previously immune from prosecution as conventional trading laws were ill-designed to protect the 'usurpation' of geographical place-names. The situation after protection was completely different. The major retailers abided by the law. However, whether due to ignorance or avarice, some smaller producers continued to use the now-protected name. Stephen Hallam explains one disturbing case:

“We found somebody [in 2009] in Tamworth Market [in Staffordshire] selling some pies that were baked with no support, in a plain cellophane bag, no labels, not refrigerated, and there were big signs saying 'Melton Mowbray Pork Pies' and tucked in with them – a little photograph of *Ye Olde Pork Pie Shoppe* [Dickinson & Morris' shop] with the implication being that it was our pies. So these people were served notice. We sent them a bill because we use the services of a lawyer that specialises in protecting reputation. They said they're not going to trade [any more]. There comes a point where the Association has to move this forward – we've got to be ensuring that it's [protected status] policed and you can't just leave it to Trading Standards. We're protecting our reputation, each member's reputation, and the reputation of the Association.”¹⁴⁰

The MMPPA possessed a clear rationale for obtaining protection which combined economic self-interest with cultural preservation. A marketing perspective would argue that the PGI should be used to promote the specificity of the product. However, it is not only the pies which PGI status has apparently made unique. The

¹³⁹ Matthew O'Callaghan (MMPPA), 13/09/10.

¹⁴⁰ Stephen Hallam (Dickinson & Morris), 15/10/10.

MMPPA also claims that the town of Melton Mowbray itself has benefited from this newly-obtained singularity.

III. The Advantages of Qualification.

The MMPPA argue that their pies possess a character that is special and different to non-Mowbray edibles. They claim that the town (and its surrounding area) has also become exceptional because of its connection with the pies. They suggest that the town has financially benefited from this association as the PGI has generated an increase in tourism revenue. This connection between pies and place cannot be utilised by other locations as the PGI prevents external producers from use of the 'Melton Mowbray' name. All pies share some similarities with each other but Melton pies are singularised by their place of manufacture and methods of production. The most important of these variables is place. Pork pies made anywhere in the world can be created by traditional methods (and, for that matter, good quality meat) but only pies created in the protected area can be branded with the Melton Mowbray name.

The PGI regulation promotes this difference by unequivocally stating that “Melton Mowbray Pork Pies are clearly distinct from other pork pies in their packaging, design and marketing at point of sale. They carry a price premium compared to other pork pies on the market-place of 10 to fifteen percent because they have a specific reputation that sets them apart as different and worth paying for.”¹⁴¹ This premium demonstrates the economics of singularisation. Hallam thinks the premium is between 10 and 20 percent¹⁴² while O'Callaghan claims it can be up to 50 percent. He additionally suggests that it allows smaller producers to exist who would otherwise not survive in modern commodity markets.¹⁴³ The market is now divided between Mowbray and non-Mowbray pies and consumers direct their money accordingly.

One way to generate customer support is for producers to represent themselves as artisans. The attraction of artisan ideologies is explained by Angela Tregear (2005: 12) because “status as artisans – principled, ideological, commerce-eschewing – gave them [artisan producers] a specialist marketing cachet, appealing very strongly to a growing segment of affluent consumers willing to seek out and pay a premium for these attributes. These artisans were able to satisfy entrepreneurial ambitions with little prejudice to product or process integrity.” Tregear's perspective accords with my own

¹⁴¹ Melton Mowbray Pork Pie Registration: Dossier Number UK/PGI/0005/0335 Section 4.6.

¹⁴² Stephen Hallam (e-mail 30/03/11).

¹⁴³ Matthew O'Callaghan (e-mail 30/03/11).

impression of the producers' businesses: a cultural model predicated on geographical specificity attracts customers who wish to 'consume' values of tradition, heritage, and authenticity.

However, the MMPPA is not entirely comprised of small artisanal manufacturers. The largest member is Samworth Brothers who make approximately four million Melton Mowbrays each week.¹⁴⁴ The MMPPA do not conflate 'authenticity' with small-scale manufacturing. On the contrary, the MMPPA operates in a market which demands the production of vast quantities of Melton Mowbray pies made to a consistent standard every week. There is no reason why 'authentic' manufacturers cannot be commercially minded. In-place producers do not extol an artisanal rhetoric but instead promote values of place and tradition irrespective of the size of the firm. Each producer singularises its pies which may involve publicising the company's history, small size, family-run ethos, hand-made production methods, or any number of other positive connotations. The website for Mrs Kings Pork Pies¹⁴⁵ ably promotes the small-scale production as "every pie made by Mrs King [the founder] was, of course, made by hand and that is a tradition which continues to this day in a business which is still owned and run by the Hartland family. Using only the finest ingredients, this latest generation of family bakers ensure that every pie that bears the name Mrs King is made with the kind of loving care, craftsmanship and pride that Elizabeth King would be proud of." Ian Hartland (the Company Director of Mrs Kings Pork Pies which is one of the smallest manufacturers) told me: "We're generation to generation aren't we? My sons are now 22 and 24. They'll take it up for the next 40 years and their children may carry on. Nothing has changed and the pie stays the same. That's what traditional products are at the end of the day."¹⁴⁶

The ability to differentiate Mowbray from non-Mowbray pies is not without difficulties. PGI pies exist by dint of their location and methods of production. While the 'geography' of these protected pies is not – as we shall soon note – uncontroversial, it can, at least, be defined. It is harder to articulate the methods of production. There is a tension between standardisation (necessary to gain protected status) and singularisation (employed as a marketing tool by each of the protected producers). This is best evidenced in terms of the meat content. The PGI regulation requires a minimum of 30 percent but the smaller manufacturers distinguish themselves by providing a higher percentage. The singularisation process therefore operates on two levels:

¹⁴⁴ Mark Samworth (Samworth Brothers), 31/01/11.

¹⁴⁵ Website: www.mrskingsporkpies.co.uk

¹⁴⁶ Interview with Ian Hartland (Company Director, Mrs Kings Pork Pies), 14 October 2010.

between PGI and non-PGI producers and between the protected producers. The PGI provides a template and the producers then differentiate their pies. Ian Hartland explains how his firm positions itself in the PGI market-place:

“We [our firm] raised that minimum meat content which – in DEFRA's interpretation of a pork pie – is considerably lower than what we set ourselves for the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie. The Association got together and there are people [producers] who have a wide range [of meat content] even within it. The standard of a Melton Mowbray Pork Pie is 30 percent lean meat. Now little companies like ourselves – we put 45 percent lean meat in it. Some of the bigger manufacturers would put 30 percent in so they're right on the limit. So there's even a difference between the small and large [PGI] manufacturers.”¹⁴⁷

The desire for flexibility is also depicted by the list of permissible ingredients. The PGI defines the acceptable “raw materials” as “fresh pork”, “salt”, “lard and / or shortening”,¹⁴⁸ “wheat flour”, “pork gelatine and / or pork bonestock”, “water”, and “spices”.¹⁴⁹ These requirements provide producers with considerable leeway. However, the level of flexibility does not appear excessive unlike that noted by Sarah Bowen and Ana Valenzuela Zapata (2009) who argue that the negative effects of Tequila production on the environmental and economic sustainability of a Mexican town were caused by the GI regulation's failure to insist upon a minimum quality of the agave plant. Ian Hartland reveals that the ability for producers to use a wide range of ingredients militates against potential food disasters:

“My list of ingredients are exactly the same as everybody else because there's a set list. There's a flexibility on the meat content but only on the way upwards. So you can put more meat in it [the pie] but you can't put less so there's a benchmark of what you cannot go below. The other ones [ingredients] are, say, salt. So you could use sea salt or you could use mineral salt but we use sea salt because we think that's the best flavour. The pepper can be any pepper. We particularly use one brand of pepper from Java. We couldn't say that we always use a specific type and we have to be very careful when we list the ingredients so that you don't specify too much in case it [the ingredient]

¹⁴⁷ Ian Hartland (Mrs Kings), 14/10/10.

¹⁴⁸ Lard is fat from pigs while shortening is fat from any animal or vegetable.

¹⁴⁹ PGI Regulation Section 4.5.

becomes unavailable. If you were to say only British [lard was allowed] and the British lard industry packed up – you couldn't make [PGI] pork pies.”¹⁵⁰

The PGI could singularise Melton Mowbrays by insisting that the meat originate from a specific type of pig. However, it instead allows the pork to derive from any breed. This flexibility contrasts with Traditionally Farmed Gloucestershire Old Spots Pork¹⁵¹ which was awarded Traditional Speciality Guaranteed (TSG) status in July 2010. Its regulation demands the use of “pedigree Gloucestershire Old Spots pigs [which] must be registered as pure bred by the British Pig Association.”¹⁵² By comparison, no Mowbray producer claims that pork from a particular breed or that from pigs reared in the locality is superior to pork from other areas. There are three reasons for this assertion. First, the producers do not connect the breed of pig to the quality of their product. What matters is that the pork is of decent quality. Second, no producer opines that pigs reared inside the boundaries receive a better diet than those bred externally. No-one claims that the land influences the quality of the pig meat. Third, the MMPPA realise that we live in an epoch of food scares and consumer worries. A regulation which insisted that the pigs must reside in the Melton area would eradicate the industry if there was a local livestock crisis. Stephen Hallam explains why it is unfeasible to restrict pork to the Melton locale:

“It [the specificity of the pork] would not be possible which is why it's PGI and not PDO [Protected Designation of Origin]. It would not be commercially possible – you just wouldn't be able to do it because the pork isn't available in this area. In actual fact, there's a shortage of pork in Britain after two lots of Foot-and-mouth [disease].”¹⁵³

These singularising mechanisms – the style of production, minimum meat content, and cultural ethos – can provide economic benefits. The MMPPA believe that the inhabitants of Melton Mowbray have also become recent beneficiaries of the 'Melton Mowbray' brand. The pies are embodied in a specific place and its promoters employ the name to singularise the town. The place and pies have come together – through the protection granted by the PGI – to develop a conceptual understanding of the town. The PGI has become conventionalised and can be profitably used to promote

¹⁵⁰ Ian Hartland (Mrs Kings), 14/10/10.

¹⁵¹ Website: www.oldspots.org.uk/porkbacon.asp

¹⁵² Traditionally Farmed Gloucestershire Old Spots Pork Registration: Dossier Number UK/TSG/0007/0024 Section 3.6.

¹⁵³ Stephen Hallam (Dickinson & Morris), 15/10/10.

the wider local heritage. It is of note that the drive for protection occurred at precisely the same time that Matthew O'Callaghan became concerned about the floundering local economy:

“We [Melton Mowbray residents] had the Asfordby [Coal] Mine which had just closed. We had the army depot which was closed so unemployment was significant in the town. We'd got a problem with BSE. So part of my view in terms of looking at economic developments was to look at branding the town which would help us in terms of the economic recession.”¹⁵⁴

The MMPPA have connected traditional pie-making to the bustling 'market town' ambience of Melton Mowbray. The now-protected pies have become an emblematic product whose provenance denotes a powerful history. A 2008 survey claimed that one in five visitors came specifically to consume pies in their natural surroundings.¹⁵⁵ The importance of protected food to the local economy is depicted at the exact moment when tourists arrive by rail and are greeted with an imposing plaque on the station wall which proclaims: 'Melton Mowbray: Rural Capital of Food' (see Plate 4.4). Recently-erected signposts in the town point to Dickinson & Morris' *Ye Old Pork Pie Shoppe* (see Plate 4.5). The 'founder' of the Melton Mowbray industry – Edward Adcock – is highlighted on a blue plaque in Leicester Street (see Plate 4.6) funded by the MMPPA similar to those erected by English Heritage in honour of famous artists, writers, statesmen, and scientists.¹⁵⁶

PGI status has become the springboard for a variety of food festivals of which the most prominent is the East Midlands Food and Drink Festival¹⁵⁷ advertised as “the largest regional celebration of British produce in the UK, in the heart of Melton Mowbray, the Rural Capital of Food” which “bring[s] together a huge selection of cheeses, breads, pies, game, beers, spices, juices, bison, chocolate, cider, wines, chutneys, sausages, cakes, ostrich, [and] pancakes.”¹⁵⁸ It appears that – as Joan Henderson (2009: 321) suggests in her review of food tourism – “a clearly defined

¹⁵⁴ Matthew O'Callaghan (MMPPA), 13/09/10.

¹⁵⁵ Pork Pie Survey, *Melton Times*, 03 April 2008.

¹⁵⁶ Website: www.english-heritage.org.uk/discover/blue-plaques

¹⁵⁷ The East Midlands Food Festival makes explicit the deep connection between pie and place. The promotional material informs visitors that “the countryside around the town is a delightfully English farming area where quality produce, real heritage, and country pursuits are not the exception, but the norm. And if you've ever wondered why the only truly authentic Melton Mowbray Pork Pie tastes so much better than everyone else's imitation, then come and find out for yourself. Recently, Meltonians were thrilled to hear that, at last, the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie was to be granted PGI status.”

¹⁵⁸ Website: www.eastmidlandsfoodfestival.co.uk

Plate 4.4: 'Rural Capital of Food' plaque at Melton Mowbray railway station.



Plate 4.5: Signpost pointing to Dickinson & Morris' *Ye Olde Pork Pie Shoppe*.



Plate 4.6: Plaque commemorating Edward Adcock and the foundation of the national Melton Mowbray trade.



gastronomic identity and heritage can be exploited in crucial processes of differentiation and rejuvenation, helping to convey a unique sense of place” which has distinguished Melton Mowbray from other market town locations. The connection between place and protected pies has extended into gastronomic realms like the British Pie Awards (see Plates 4.7-4.9) and the Artisan Cheese Fair^{159, 160}. The former is promoted with the down-to-earth statement that “the pie is one of the icons of British cuisine. Savoury or sweet, the British eat millions of them every year. These Awards are a national celebration of British Pies in all their varieties.”¹⁶¹ These festivals show that the MMPPA use the PGI to position Melton Mowbray as a hub of 'genuine' (rather than elite) food production. Matthew O'Callaghan details the systematic drive that was required to connect the PGI to place and heritage:

¹⁵⁹ Revived Cheese Fair Attracts National Interest, *Melton Times*, 14 November 2011.

¹⁶⁰ Website: www.artisancheesefair.co.uk

¹⁶¹ Website: www.britishpieawards.co.uk

Plate 4.7: British Pie Awards 2011: Final preparations at St. Mary's Church in Melton Mowbray.



Plate 4.8: British Pie Awards 2011: Melton Mowbray Pork Pie selection.



Plate 4.9: British Pie Awards 2011: Xanthe Clay¹⁶² (Food Writer, *Daily Telegraph*) and Richard Watkin (Master Butcher and Baker) judge the Melton Mowbray pies.



“We [the MMPPA] started the East Midlands Food [and Drink] Festival. It's now in its seventh year. It's the largest of the regional food festivals. We've modelled it on Ludlow¹⁶³ and within our first year we became larger than Ludlow. There's a whole host of things in this area that are connected with food and food history and that's why we went for the 'Rural Capital of Food' [branding]. Until we had the recession – unemployment in this area was less than one percent and *The Guardian* did an article on us¹⁶⁴ because we had the lowest percentage of the population claiming benefits and they said: 'The good citizens of Melton Mowbray have something more to teach us than just pork pies and it's [the lesson] about entrepreneurship'. Food

¹⁶² Clay has written an engaging account of her judging experience: Pick of the Pork Pies, *The Daily Telegraph*, 24 June 2011.

¹⁶³ Ludlow (in South Shropshire) is renowned for its food heritage. The MMPPA use Ludlow as a comparative model as they cannot compete with Ludlow's gourmet cuisine. Instead they employ a more nuanced tactic by enrolling pork pies as an 'authentic' marker of place in contrast to the rarefied ambience of Ludlow's expensive restaurants.

¹⁶⁴ Statistics and Pork Pies, *The Guardian*, 27 November 2004.

tourism brings in £65 million a year. We don't have a major attraction in this Borough.¹⁶⁵ We're one of the 10 smallest boroughs in the country with a population of only 45,000.”¹⁶⁶

The creators of the PFN system assumed that viable historical evidence should define the area in which protection would be granted and, by extension, the locations that could legitimately be excluded. This case demonstrates how one interpretation of historical 'facts' was used to develop an official history of Melton Mowbray production and consumption within a defined area but – as we shall later observe – this historical vision was far from universally palatable.

IV. The Creation of a Historical Narrative.

The development of a particular food in one place over a 'significant' period of time is invoked to exclude out-of-place producers. Dev Gangjee (2006a: 308) – in his investigation of the Melton Mowbray case – suggests that the production area of a 'cultural' food like Melton Mowbray should be based on “gazette entries, local histories and travellers' accounts, newspaper advertisements, literary references, revenue records and other historical sources to show that the product enjoyed a reputation associated with the broadly named place or region.” This scenario is unproblematic if sound documentary evidence is available. However, pork pie production and consumption in the 18th and 19th centuries are what might best be termed 'everyday geographies' and hence there is a dearth of tangible material which can incontrovertibly establish the connection between the historical production area and a well-defined contemporary locality. This lack of proof meant that the MMPPA needed to create a history and connect it to their desired zone of protection. Matthew O'Callaghan details the mechanics involved in this procedure:

“I've always said there are two things that are important. One is to get your method of production right – your ingredients. The second is to get your history right. So we [the MMPPA] had to come up with a history to show why the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie was unique to Melton Mowbray and invented here. Our

¹⁶⁵ The borough of Melton Mowbray has few tourist attractions. These include Belvoir Castle and Rutland Water (the largest man-made lake in Western Europe). The main attraction in the town itself is St. Mary's Church which dates from 1170. Tourists who arrive by coach will remain in the town centre. They can visit the Church, the farmers' market (Tuesdays and Fridays), the cattle market (Tuesdays), and the antiques fair (Tuesdays). A visit to Dickinson & Morris' *Ye Olde Pork Pie Shoppe* appears obligatory. The booklet 'Melton Mowbray Rural Capital of Food – Pork Pies, Stilton Cheese, and Much, Much More' displays the local tourist attractions as do the leaflets for the 'Melton Mowbray Heritage Trail' and 'Melton Mowbray and the Vale of Belvoir – Tourist Information Guide'.

¹⁶⁶ Matthew O'Callaghan (MMPPA), 13/09/10.

argument was that it was a pasty, people took it into the fields, and ate it while they were working. The huntsman came in, saw this pasty and thought: What's this? What are you eating there? [He] got hungry and grabbed one of these [pies]. So you started to get people adding fat to the pastry to make it more edible. You raised it [the pastry] up around the dolly,¹⁶⁷ you bunged your meat inside, you slapped your lid on, and that was your pie.”¹⁶⁸

The town's long-standing connection to hunting (as the Melton Carnegie Museum¹⁶⁹ ably demonstrates) was invoked by the MMPPA to create the intellectual foundation for protection. The employment of a particular conception of the past was employed to cement the association between pies and place. It is designed to suggest to the consumer that there is something special about local pies compared to those developed elsewhere. A 'Melton Mowbray' is therefore 'produced' in every sense of the word – its recipe, methods of production, historical usage, and connection to a very specific place – are all retrospectively constructed as historical 'facts' that justified protection. Matthew O'Callaghan explicates the crucial historical details that were deployed to achieve protected status:

“Now they [the pies] were associated with the hunting season which is from October to February. You [the farmer] killed your pig in the winter. You fatten your pig and get it ready for the winter period and therefore you would have used fresh pork whereas our northern colleagues would cure theirs [pork]. We were eating them [the pies] while hunting in the winter so we used fresh pork and that's why it's [the pork] grey inside. Ours were not made by bakers originally. They were made by ordinary folk – meat inside, pastry on top, and slapped in an oven, and therefore baked free-standing. When you bake it free-standing – the sides collapse. If you bake it in a metal container or with a support – the support attracts the heat, whereas with a Melton Mowbray baked free-standing, the outside becomes biscuity-like because it burns off the fat, and therefore you get a gradation in the pastry crust of biscuity-crunchy to quite wet inside and that's distinctive in terms of the

¹⁶⁷ A dolly is a wooden implement with a round base around which the pastry is raised.

¹⁶⁸ Matthew O'Callaghan (MMPPA), 13/09/10.

¹⁶⁹ Website: www.leics.gov.uk/meltonmuseum

bite characteristic. The final thing is that when people [fox hunters] were jumping up and down and over hedges and they've got one of these [pies] in their pockets – it would have just turned to mush. However, what they [the producers] then added was jelly into the pie. First, it expels all the air and when it solidifies – you've got this ball. The second thing it does is to effectively sterilise the pie so it's preserved for much longer.”¹⁷⁰

O'Callaghan's history is consistent with the official account provided by local historian Trevor Hickman.¹⁷¹ He suggests in *The History of the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie* (2005a) that meat pies arrived in early medieval times when pastry was wrapped around the pork although “written evidence is scanty and certainly any comment on the use of pork by the peasantry is impossible to find.” Hickman assures us that “this is the pie of the common man, not the pie of the nobleman, and it is from this peasant's pie that the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie developed.” Hugo Meynell – a popular local icon widely revered as the 'Father of Fox Hunting' – soon realised that “chasing a fox with a pack of hounds willy-nilly across the countryside may be good entertainment but the real hunting – riding hard, jumping the high fences and deep ditches of the recently enclosed fields south of Nottingham through the Leicestershire Wolds and on to Market Harborough – provided the true excitement of the chase” (Hickman, 2005a: 10-12). The adventurous attitude of Meynell and his ilk ensured that Melton Mowbray became the centre of various fox hunting fraternities whose famished members demanded a meaty snack when out 'hard riding'.¹⁷²

Local historian J. E. Brownlow (1963: 42) quotes the *Daily News* of October 1872 which claimed that the pie trade “is in a great measure provoked by the presence in its midst of hunting men, who find that this particular edible, when cut into slices, to be about the most convenient, not to say filling luncheon, which they can carry about with them.” The historical geography of pie production was based on the territory used by these hunters which was due to the physical geography of the area. Stephen Hallam asserts that the popularity of hunting resulted in the nexus between place, pork, and pies:

¹⁷⁰ Matthew O'Callaghan (MMPPA), 13/09/10.

¹⁷¹ We shall observe in Chapter V that Hickman is also an authority on Stilton Cheese.

¹⁷² Pies are a self-contained meal which can be consumed without crockery or cutlery. This, no doubt, explains their popularity with fox-hunters who would have required 'fast food'. A similar example is sandwiches – apparently named after the Earl of Sandwich who refused to leave the gambling table in order to dine and instead demanded he be brought meat placed in sliced bread.

“The fame of the pies spread thanks to hunting. Hunting was extremely prolific in this area and it brought incredible wealth and prosperity. They [the gentry] wanted people to look after the horses so, in spring and summer, the labourers were working in the fields. Their staple diet was a lump of meat – predominantly wrapped in pastry called a 'coffin'.¹⁷³ They would discard that and eat the meat. In autumn and winter, it [the meat] became pork. The gentries saw their grooms tucking into what was essentially the Cornish Pasty of Leicestershire. This was the instant meal and the McDonald's of yesterday. When the hunting set went home after the season – they had a taste for the pies. They were only available in and around this area and the reason why hunting happens in this area – it's prime hunting countryside and it extends in a swathe from Nottingham right the way through the Vale [of Belvoir].¹⁷⁴”¹⁷⁵

Brownlow (1963: 41) even suggests that the pies were exported internationally. In 1877, the *Daily Telegraph* rather floridly claimed, “is not Melton Mowbray celebrated from the Indus to the Pole for its raised pies and do not the firms of Collin & Co., Evans & Hill, and Tebbutt & Co.¹⁷⁶ despatch thousands of these delicacies every day to all parts of the world by the morning passenger trains.” The *Telegraph* also claimed that “much business is done with Paris and even in the Colonies whence they are dispatched in air-tight containers.” Elihu Burritt, a peripatetic American farmer, visited Melton Mowbray in 1863. In *A Walk from London to John O' Groats* (1864: 226) he praised the town for “its celebrated manufacture of pork-pies. It bids fair to become as famous for them as Banbury is for buns.¹⁷⁷ I visited the principal establishment for providing the travelling and picnicking world with these very substantial and palatable portables.” Burritt (1864: 227) obviously came away satisfied as “the best thing that I can say of it is this: that I shall eat with better satisfaction and relish hereafter the pies bearing the brand of Evans, of Melton Mowbray, than I ever did before.”

¹⁷³ The 'coffin' was the crust which protected the meat filling. It functioned as a container which allowed the pies to be carried. The crust would have been tightly formed around the meat so that air was excluded. It therefore operated as a primitive form of preservation. A 'coffin' used to mean a basket or box and only later detailed a funereal function (Clarkson, 2009).

¹⁷⁴ The Vale of Belvoir (pronounced 'beaver') encompasses the Melton Mowbray area and extends into Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire.

¹⁷⁵ Stephen Hallam (Dickinson & Morris), 15/10/10.

¹⁷⁶ This firm is now known as Tuxford & Tebbutt and produces Stilton Cheese.

¹⁷⁷ These oval buns contain currents and spices and originated in Banbury in Oxfordshire.

The exodus of pies from towns other than Melton Mowbray also increased with some rapidity. Hickman (2005a: 16) asserts that “all the major cities of Britain had Melton Mowbray Pork Pies on offer. It is questionable whether they could all have been classed as the genuine article.” It appears that, by 1879, ‘forgery’ was commonplace. Brownlow (1963: 43) quotes the *Leicester Journal* of December that year as stating that there were dishonest attempts throughout the country to appropriate the Mowbray name to sell pies of inadequate quality. The test of legitimacy for Hickman is that “a true ‘Pork Pie of Melton Mowbray’ can only be produced where a packhorse could have travelled 25 miles to the market cross in the centre of Melton Mowbray and back on the same day” although it remains unclear why 25 miles has become the definitive figure (Hickman, 2005a: inside cover).

Yet despite the historical locations of production it is axiomatic that difficulties will arise when the aforementioned lack of documentation means that connecting historical accounts of traditional production with a specific geographical usage becomes a less than ‘scientific’ affair. The historical development of pie production, consumption, and trade in and around the Melton area was utilised in the MMPPA’s original application for protection although it was not possible to determine with any form of certainty the precise locations from which pie vendors historically sold their wares. It was therefore difficult to justify the exact territory which should be included or excluded. Histories are infrequently comprised of objective ‘facts’ but are more often constructions that present a selective world-view. The enlistment of history is described by Nuala Johnson (1996: 552),¹⁷⁸ in her interrogation of the relationship between history and geography, as a “retrospective vision – as all history must be but its pretensions to objectivity are as much a part of its rhetoric as are the internal characteristic strategies of the discourses of its various practitioners.” The lack of clear and long-term historical evidence of pie manufacturing was unfortunate although not – as Matthew O’Callaghan duly notes – an insurmountable obstacle:

“People here [in Melton Mowbray] invented it [the pies], and they changed it, and they amended it, until you got the final product. That’s our intellectual property and it’s not what’s written on a piece of paper. In fact, it was very difficult to get any references to the Melton Mowbray recipe and we don’t have a recipe that’s been written in 1835 [for example]. What we’ve got is [the information about] how people have passed it on

¹⁷⁸ Quoting Deane (1994).

from generation to generation. So there is a craft of pie-making.”¹⁷⁹

The MMPPA's desire to 'own' the name was (at least initially) outside the control of the lawyers and politicians who conventionally dominate the IP industry. Yet its members' unabashed confidence in their ability to define and stabilise place may be troubling from a geographical perspective in which place is considered permeable and can therefore never be hermetically-sealed. The assumption that inventions can derive from a specific location without any intellectual input from external locales is rejected by many scholars in the history of geography and science. These kinds of debates about conceptions of place and boundaries do not trouble the MMPPA. Its members' desired to protect the 'Melton Mowbray' name because they claimed that pork pies of exceptional quality had been made in the area for generations. I was informed that protection was a mere 'tidying-up' exercise which formally codified existing knowledge of 'traditional' production methods. Ian Hartland explains:

“It was time [in the late 1990s] to clear everything up and say: 'These are the standards of the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie. This is the set area of the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie.' So it [the PGI] was just simplifying and clarifying all the constitutional bits of the pork pie – where it comes from, how it's made, its ingredients and then put that forward to the public [through the PGI] and say: 'This is a benchmark of what a Melton Mowbray Pork Pie is.' Historically pork pies have been made in this area, in this form, for a long time. It's only recently that the name 'Melton Mowbray' was a way of tidying things up.”¹⁸⁰

The MMPPA presents the history used to achieve protection as self-evident. The idea that the pies originated as a meaty snack for fox hunters sounds entirely plausible. However, what matters is not so much the precise historical geography but rather the mechanism by which this history was invoked to generate the boundaries of the protected zone. It will become clear that the MMPPA failed to predict the hostility from organisations less than enamoured about the use of this soon-to-be contested history.

¹⁷⁹ Matthew O'Callaghan (MMPPA), 15/10/10.

¹⁸⁰ Ian Hartland (Mrs Kings), 14/10/10.

V. The Development of the Bounded Area.

The boundaries of every GI should theoretically be based on the historical production area although this demand is often difficult to establish with any kind of historical certainty given the porous nature of place. The MMPPA's desire to obtain protection was entirely based on the pies' positive reputation rather than any 'natural' *terroir*. O'Callaghan readily admits that the MMPPA has “not gone for PDO protection which means that all the ingredients must come from the area. We've not said that the taste of the Melton Mowbray is linked to the soil like Stilton or Champagne.”¹⁸¹ The historical production area for popular and mobile foods (like pies) tended to expand over time. The vogue for Melton Mowbrays during the 19th century meant that production migrated away from the town and into the surrounding area while the boundaries of consumption (if not production) expanded still further. In 1831, Edward Adcock (see Plate 4.6) began using the Leeds to London stagecoach to transport his pies. The growth of the railway network from the 1840s onwards permitted the pies to be exported throughout the UK.¹⁸² The PGI states that “during the early and middle 19th century when the pies were first being produced on a commercial basis geographical and economic barriers would have limited production of the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie to the town of Melton Mowbray and its surrounding district.”¹⁸³ These boundaries were the speculative limits that a horse could ride in one day. O'Callaghan's original goal was that protection should envelop the town and its immediate surroundings. Protection could not be restricted to the town itself as only one producer – Dickinson & Morris – was located therein.

It is possible that consumers unfamiliar with the intricacies of 19th century Meltonian history will assume that a Melton Mowbray Pork Pie is specific to the town. In fact, the current producers are based in Asfordby Hill (in the borough of Melton Mowbray but not the town), Birstall (Leicester), Cotgrave (Nottingham), Leicester, Oakham (Leicestershire), Melton Mowbray, Nottingham, Stamford (Lincolnshire), Upper Broughton (in the borough but not the town), Wellingborough (Northampton), and Wigston (Leicestershire) (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2). Members of the public may wonder how a Melton Mowbray can be legally created in a variety of places located a considerable distance from the town. They might question whether these areas are an authentic representation of the historical realms of production. This does not concern the producers who certainly do not consider a Melton Mowbray created some distance

¹⁸¹ Matthew O'Callaghan (MMPPA), 15/10/10.

¹⁸² PGI Regulation Section 4.6.

¹⁸³ PGI Regulation Section 4.3.

Figure 4.1: Melton Mowbray producers located in the town and borough.

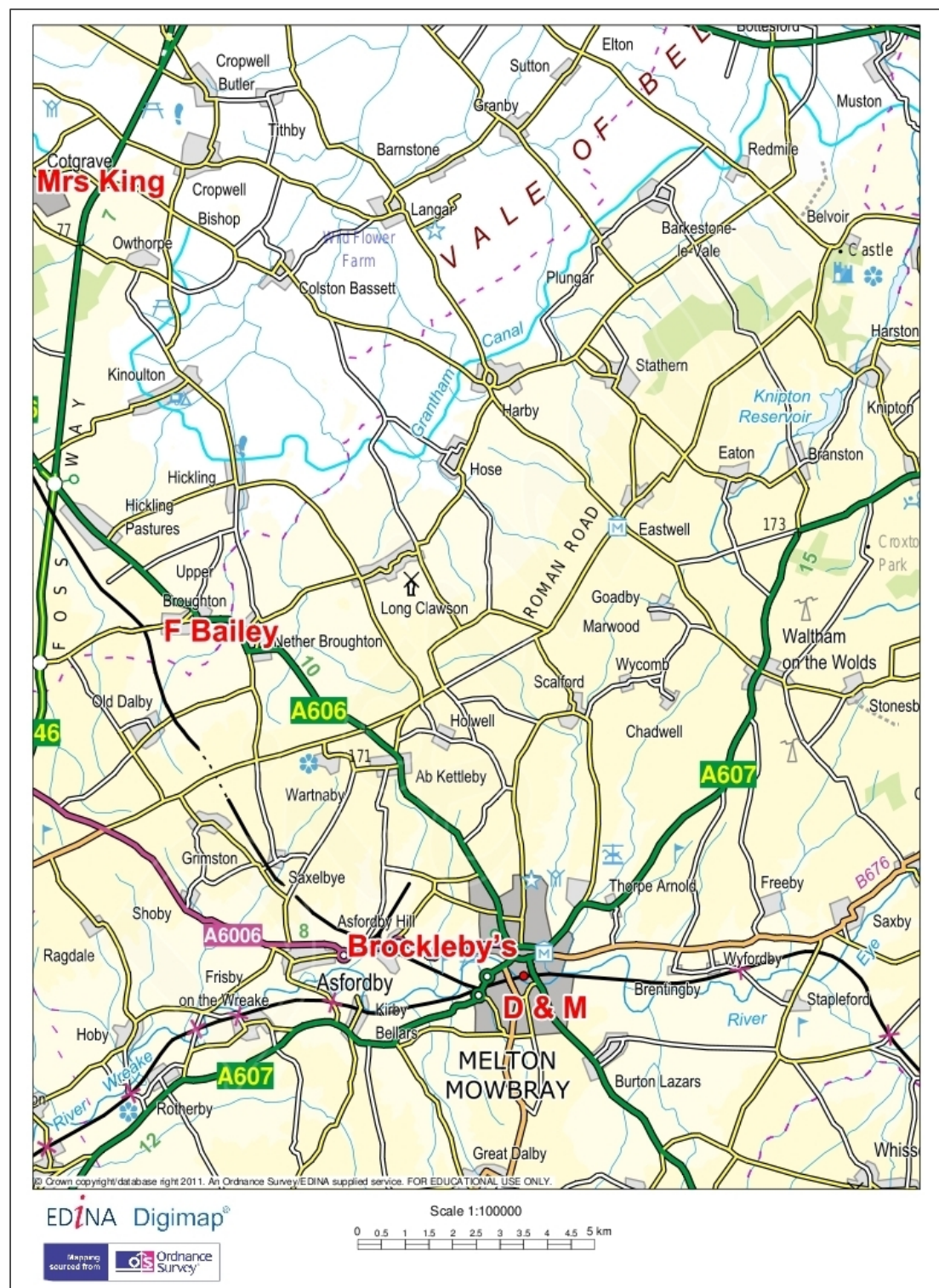
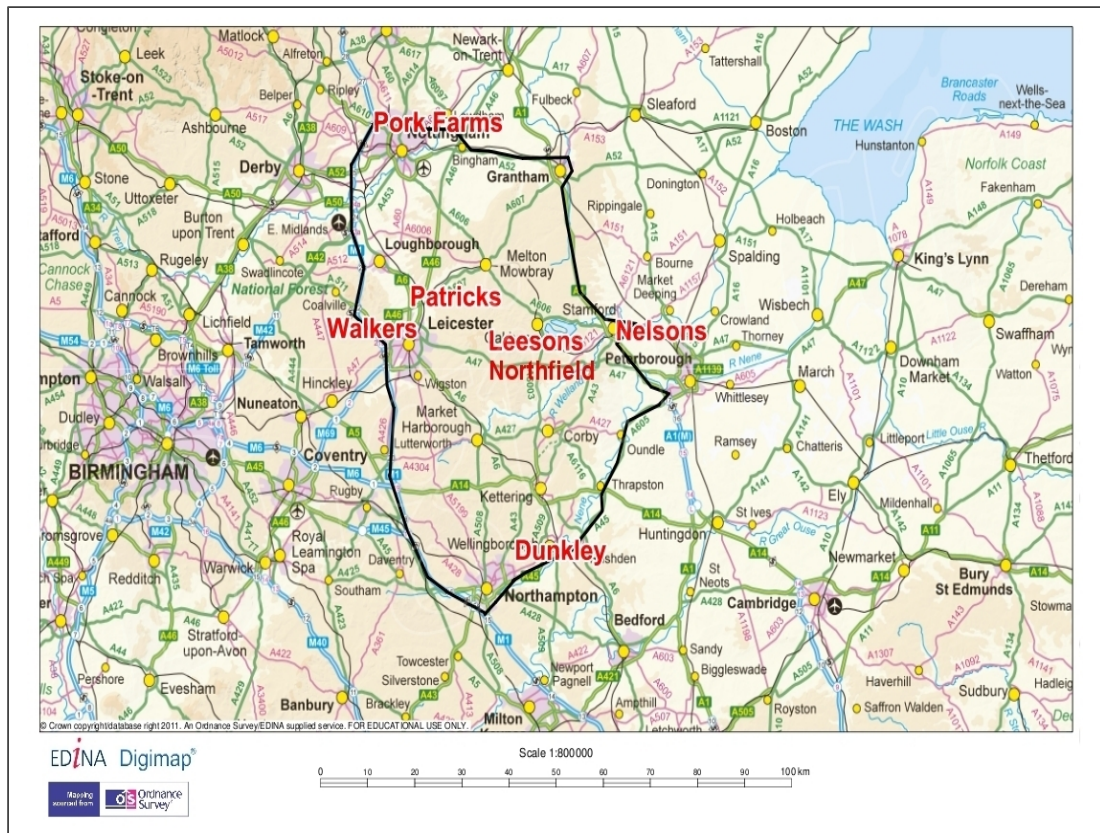


Figure 4.2: Melton Mowbray producers located outside the town and borough but inside the zone of protection (marked).



from the town to be in any respect inauthentic. They appeal to the history of the pork pie trade in particular the migration of production from the town to the surrounding vicinity and therefore argue that nearby producers would have been within the historical production boundaries. Indeed, they quite accurately stress that the PGI has considerably tightened-up the production area which used to encompass the entire UK¹⁸⁴ and are profoundly sceptical of any claim that the current sphere of production is excessive. Mrs Kings Pork Pies is based in the small village of Cotgrave in Nottingham. Ian Hartland is unconcerned that his pies are not made in Melton Mowbray:

“It’s [our location] not an issue for us in terms of the town of Melton Mowbray of which we are something like nine miles away. The reason why there’s an area [which is protected] is that Melton Mowbray is a community of farmland and – within that – historically more pies were made outside Melton Mowbray and taken to the market [in Melton Mowbray] to be sold.”¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴ Melton Mowbrays could, in fact, have been legally made anywhere in the EU.

¹⁸⁵ Ian Hartland (Mrs Kings), 14/10/10.

It is not unreasonable that 'Melton Mowbray' should signify a somewhat larger area than the town itself. It is understandable that a trade 'travels' as its popularity increases. It would be unrealistic to argue that every geographically-named product should be restricted to the town or city from which its name derives. But what are the acceptable limits of the current boundaries? There is always a risk that the ambiguous history of a reputation-based food can lead to allegations that the contemporary boundaries were determined in order to exclude competitor firms rather than operate as a legitimate approximation of the past geographical zone of production. A partisan reading of a local history can permit what detractors might claim is a rather casual interpretation of the boundaries. A history which is not objectively determined cannot be geographically ascertained with any precision. This geographical nebulosity enabled a flexibility which was both beneficial and disadvantageous. It enabled producers some distance away from the town to be authenticated but the MMPPA's boundaries still excluded manufacturers from further afield who argued that they were victims of geographical discrimination. Matthew O'Callaghan explains how the MMPPA were forced to use a number of assumptions in order to generate their initial boundaries:

“Our [the MMPPA's] logic for the boundaries was to say: 'When was a person likely to have sold a pork pie in Melton Mowbray market?' Given that, in the 1830s, you'd have ridden a day there and back to market – a maximum distance of about 25 miles.¹⁸⁶ But, of course, that's not good enough. You need boundaries. So the logic was: where would someone have sold a Melton Mowbray Pork Pie without having the opportunity to sell it at a better market that was nearer? For example, if you're in Grantham, you wouldn't make a Melton Mowbray Pork Pie and come to the Melton market to sell it. So we looked at boundaries of 25 miles away and, conveniently, to the East – there's the Great North Road. The A1 as it is now. So that defines the Eastern boundary and any town on the other side would be excluded because you'd have sold it there rather than in Melton. In the North – we have the River Trent. Nobody would have crossed the River Trent to sell a pork pie because you've got Nottingham market over there and you've got the

¹⁸⁶ Hickman also regards this 25 mile figure as sacrosanct.

ferryman to pay. To the West would be the River Soar and to the South is the A47 [as it is known today].”¹⁸⁷

O'Callaghan's claims appear to be a viable interpretation of historical transport routes. They are supported by Hickman (2005a: 97) who is adamant that “no carrier would cross the Trent [river] as the road tolls would make it uneconomic. All pies would have been sold to travellers on the Great North Road; no carrier from Grantham would waste his time conveying pies to Melton Mowbray.” It is plausible to assert that pie-traders would not want to compete with other market sellers and were eager to avoid the Georgian tollbooths. The only necessary requirement to solidify this boundary-making exercise was to convert historical place-names into modern terminology. The registration document does precisely this and describes the protected area as “the town of Melton Mowbray and its surrounding region bounded as follows: to the North, by the A52 from the M1 and the A1 and including the city of Nottingham; to the East, by the A1 from the A52 to the A605 and including the towns of Grantham and Stamford; to the West, by the M1 from the A52 to the A45; to the South, by the A45 and A605 from the M1 to the A1 and including the town of Northampton.”¹⁸⁸ It is important to note that Grantham has now been mentioned three times. First, O'Callaghan stated that pie-traders from Grantham would not have travelled to Melton Mowbray. Second, Hickman concurred that Grantham pie sellers would not “waste their time” commuting to the town. However, the PGI regulation includes Grantham within the protected area. How did this expansion of the boundaries occur? How could it be justified?

The MMPPA's desire to incorporate producers located near to the town does not immediately explain why their final boundaries included territories like Grantham. The reason was due to the consternation generated by the management of soon-to-be excluded companies. A number of these organisations – which included the multinational Northern Foods which produced the Marks & Spencer pies that initiated O'Callaghan's ire – appealed to DEFRA who requested that the MMPPA re-consider their boundary-making scheme. The MMPPA's solution was to appease the claimants by significantly expanding the protected locale. It becomes obvious that the initial boundaries were modified by political compromise. This malleability was connected to the lack of a verifiable history which made challenging complainants a difficult ordeal due to the impossibility of validating the artificially constructed boundaries. Matthew O'Callaghan explains why the MMPPA was willing to alter the original borders:

¹⁸⁷ Matthew O'Callaghan (MMPPA), 13/09/10.

¹⁸⁸ PGI Regulation Section 4.3.

“We [the MMPPA] had a challenge on the boundaries and DEFRA said: 'You've got major companies like Northern Foods breathing down your neck. You're going to have to do something about that.' Our view was: We're not going to extend it [the protected area] down to Trowbridge [where the 'inauthentic' Melton Mowbrays were made]. But they [Northern Foods] did have a factory in Nottingham – just 200 yards on the 'wrong' side of the road so we said: 'OK'. And they [Northern Foods] used to make Melton Mowbrays there until they moved to Trowbridge. We agreed to extend the boundary so that any town [or city] on the border of the boundary would be included. So the whole of Nottingham was included, the whole of Stamford was included, and the whole of Grantham was included. We wouldn't compromise on the meat – [it had to be] fresh pork. We wouldn't compromise on the recipe but we would compromise on the boundary. And then there was a factory down in Northamptonshire which had been making them [Melton Mowbrays] since 19-whatever – and in the end we extended the boundary down to include them. It's easy when you've got a county boundary, political boundary, or administrative boundary. Most of the [protected] products have [one]. We would be one of the very few that have had to invent a boundary and we've had to use some sort of historical justification [to create it]. It's [the boundary] then stretched by political expediency in terms of the negotiations with those manufacturers who had been making it [the pies] being allowed in [to the protected area].”¹⁸⁹

It would have been ideal if a clear and incontrovertible repository of documentation existed that detailed the locations from which historical pie production occurred. This was not to be and so the MMPPA were forced to estimate the historical production area and use that interpretation to initialise the contemporary borders. This suggests that the current boundaries may not be a true representation of past production. An alternative view would be that the MMPPA should be permitted some largesse rather than be expected to provide cartographic proof from two centuries ago. However, from an official perspective, the GI system is predicated on a supposedly

¹⁸⁹ Matthew O'Callaghan (MMPPA), 13/09/10.

consistent and unchanging association between product and place. It appears redundant to define boundaries that are apparently based on history if political compromise permits the accession of previously excluded actors. Such an extension challenges the official story of place- and boundary-making in the GI system and creates friction between place-based 'authenticity' and pragmatic political considerations. The controversial construction of the MMPPA's original boundaries is noted in a press release issued by Northern Foods:

“Hopefully common sense [in the case] will prevail. We've been making great pork pies for our customers for over a hundred years. To them, 'Melton Mowbray' stands for delicious pies. Our pies are very high quality and made to traditional recipes, and we think that is more important than whether or not the factory that makes them is in a completely spurious area of the East Midlands – which is much larger than the immediate area around Melton Mowbray. We have fought this challenge [in the courts] all the way on some very clear principles and we will have no compunction about fighting on in Europe.”¹⁹⁰

The mechanism by which the Melton Mowbray producers enrolled place may appear conflictual. An area – the town and vicinity of Melton Mowbray – was defined in the first instance for the purpose of economic and cultural valorisation. Yet the MMPPA then progressively reconstructed that conception by allowing the name to be understood not simply as the town itself or even as the borough but in a manner that included other towns and cities that were somehow 'informed' by the historical pie-making experience. The MMPPA's aim was not to embrace some kind of 'progressive' sense of place but rather to secure the singularisation of the pie and its locus of production. The boundary modifications have ensured that Melton Mowbray now denotes a flexible construction. Michael Edenborough QC (the MMPPA's barrister) appears to take an almost 'geographical' perspective of place when he rhetorically asks:

“When you say 'Melton Mowbray' – what do you actually mean by 'Melton Mowbray'? Do you mean the local Parish Council, do you mean the Town Council, do you mean whatever the name might be for the particular administrative district? So there's no definition of what Melton Mowbray can mean even if you want to focus upon the town itself – and where do you draw the

¹⁹⁰ Website: www.northern-foods.co.uk/media/press-releases/2005/33/melton-mowbray-pork-pie-hearing.htm

boundary? Do you draw it on this street or the next street? The area needs to be defined in some way and just because you include the fields around Melton Mowbray – what are you supposed to then say? 'This is not a Melton Mowbray Pork Pie but a Melton Mowbray Field Pork Pie'? What one is using is the name 'Melton Mowbray' as a simple moniker to label the defined area because what one really should be saying is: 'A Melton Mowbray Pork Pie is one that comes from this geographical area as defined by this road on the left, that river on the right' and what have you. Now that's completely impractical so what you say is: 'A Melton Mowbray Pork Pie is a pork pie produced within a definition of the Melton Mowbray area. So it's [the name 'Melton Mowbray'] just a label.'¹⁹¹

The time usually required to secure protection for a food or drink ranges from 18 months to two years. However, the legal aspects in this case proved highly contentious and took several years to fully resolve. The Melton Mowbray dispute played out in the judicial arena and the documentation from these court cases is used to better comprehend the way in which legal actors understand producers' boundary-making schemes.

VI. The Challenge to the Boundaries.

The MMPPA formally requested protection for the 'Melton Mowbray' name in November 2002. At this point they defined the initial boundaries which were expanded in July 2003 after objections from the soon-to-be excluded producers. DEFRA concluded that the MMPPA had made a viable case for protection and forwarded their request to the European Commission whose brief was to scrutinise the application. However, in April 2004, Northern Foods objected and requested a Judicial Review (JR). A JR occurs where one party (Northern Foods) believes that a government body (DEFRA) has engaged in an unlawful exercise of power (accepting the MMPPA's request for protection by forwarding their application) and insists on a legal review of that decision. Simon Johnson (a Policy Advisor, in the Food Policy Unit, at DEFRA) details the close working relationship between DEFRA and the MMPPA:

“We [DEFRA] were involved right from the beginning in the [PGI] application in that we had a responsibility to encourage

¹⁹¹ Interview with Michael Edenborough QC (Barrister, Serle Court), 27 October 2010.

applications [to apply for protected names] and work in drawing up those applications. We were very involved in helping them [the MMPPA] draw up the specification, the application, and everything, and then we then had this responsibility to seek views from interested parties, address the objections, do the backwards and forwards: 'Well, the objectors are saying this – Melton Mowbray Pork Pie Association: what's your response?' and then having to take a decision on the application.”¹⁹²

Yet it is still unclear at this point why the legal battle with Northern Foods was necessary. The MMPPA, after all, were willing to quite significantly amend their original borders. It may appear perplexing that Northern Foods – whose Nottingham base would be safely ensconced within the protected area under the 'Mark II' boundary scheme – still decided to challenge the MMPPA's desire for protected status. Mark Samworth suggests that the reason can be discerned from the business model of Northern Foods:

“Northern Foods were making what they labelled 'Melton Mowbray Pork Pies' for Marks & Spencer in Trowbridge in Wiltshire. Those pies were moved from Nottingham back in the late '80s down to Wiltshire but the long term plan for Northern Foods had always been to move it back from Wiltshire to up North. So they objected because they knew it [protected status] would put under threat their flexibility to move the product [pies] around the country.”¹⁹³

Northern Foods objected to the MMPPA's application being forwarded to the Commission on two grounds. First, they claimed that DEFRA had misunderstood the application process.¹⁹⁴ Second, they argued that “there has never been a consistent recipe for Melton Mowbray pork pies, they have been made outside the proposed area

¹⁹² Interview with Simon Johnson (Policy Advisor, Food Policy Unit, Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs), 25 November 2010.

¹⁹³ Mark Samworth (Samworth Brothers), 31/01/11.

¹⁹⁴ The PFN Regulations state that the Commission has six months after they receive the forwarded application to decide whether or not sufficient information is included. If so, the application is published in the Official Journal (Regulation 2081/92 Article 6 Paragraphs 1 and 2). Other Member States – but not the country from which the application originated – are then able to object (Regulation 2081/92 Article 7). DEFRA was supposed to conclude all disputes prior to forwarding the application (Regulation 2081/92 Article 5 Paragraph 5) but Northern Foods claimed that DEFRA had not resolved all their concerns. It would appear that DEFRA had misinterpreted the law because they assumed that Northern Foods could object after the MMPPA's application had been published in the Official Journal. Northern Foods Plc (Claimant) v The Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defendant) in the High Court of Justice (1 April 2004) Detailed Statement of Grounds Paragraphs 17-22, 25-26; hereafter JR 2004.

since at least the mid-1800s [and] that 'Melton Mowbray' is understood by consumers as nothing more than a generic name for premium quality pork pies.”¹⁹⁵ They described the extended boundaries as having “been chosen quite capriciously”¹⁹⁶ while it was claimed that “both historically and currently the filling may be made either of cured or uncured meat.”¹⁹⁷ Northern Foods therefore invoked its own geography of what constituted a Melton Mowbray. They attacked every aspect of what the MMPPA claimed made-up a 'genuine' Melton Mowbray: its location, boundaries, and ingredients. Northern Foods claimed that Melton Mowbrays have been produced throughout England for about 150 years, that there were no historical boundaries as such, and therefore no structure existed on which to create contemporary borders. Northern Foods generated its own historical and geographical evidence to challenge the MMPPA's evidence. This was an overt challenge to the idea that there could ever be a specific and localised historical geography of pork pie production.

DEFRA accepted that they had acted improperly by forwarding the application to the European Commission. They asked the Commission to suspend their consideration of the PGI. However, in May 2005, after further entreaties from both the MMPPA and Northern Foods DEFRA once again sent the application to the Commission. Northern Foods then demanded a second JR. This time they targeted the mechanism used to calculate the boundaries. Their management understood that the Wiltshire factory was too distant from Melton Mowbray to ever be considered part of the protected area and thus their new 'scorched earth' strategy was to limit all production to the strict confines of the town or, more 'generously', the borough. This would have created a worse situation for the 'genuine' Melton producers than that which existed before protection as they would have to migrate into the borough to retain use of the name. Northern Foods' barrister argued that “as a matter of everyday language, a pork pie produced in Northampton¹⁹⁸ cannot be said to originate in the town of Melton Mowbray or even the borough of Melton”,¹⁹⁹ and so “the only permissible geographical area for a PGI relating to Melton Mowbray Pork Pies would be the town, and perhaps the borough, of Melton Mowbray.”²⁰⁰ DEFRA responded with their own interpretation of the connection between name and town. They, like Edenborough, argued that “the name 'Melton Mowbray Pork Pie' is not the definition of the geographical area, but rather the nomenclature attached to the geographical

¹⁹⁵ JR 2004 Paragraph 14.

¹⁹⁶ JR 2004 Paragraph 24 (a).

¹⁹⁷ JR 2004 Paragraph 24 (b).

¹⁹⁸ This is presumably a reference to Dunkleys who are based in Northampton.

¹⁹⁹ Northern Foods Plc (Claimant) v The Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defendant) in the High Court of Justice (20 May 2005) Detailed Statement of Grounds Paragraph 19; hereafter JR 2005.

²⁰⁰ JR 2005 Paragraph 23.

indication. It is a shorthand for the area.”²⁰¹ The use of this shorthand was apparently justifiable because “the application for a PGI is based on the reputation of the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie. The reputation of a product by its very nature is most unlikely to be restricted by or coextensive with urban boundaries.”²⁰²

The MMPPA then introduced their own legal submission which refers to 'Melton Mowbray' as a “label” and “moniker”. They argue that “the label by which the PGI is known must not be confused conceptually with the actual geographical area that is covered by the PGI. The label is not, and is not intended to be, a substitute for the detailed definition of the geographical area.”²⁰³ The second JR was decided at the High Court in December 2005. Northern Foods' barrister claimed that Regulation 2081/92 refers to a “specific place” from which the food must originate which he interpreted to mean the town or borough. DEFRA and the MMPPA stressed that the very same section of 2081/92 also denotes that “the production and / or processing and / or preparation take place in the defined geographical area.”²⁰⁴ Their argument was that the “defined geographical area” did not need to be identical to the “specific place”. The Judge agreed with the argument that 'Melton Mowbray' was a convenient shorthand for a “geographical area” which could be significantly larger than a “specific place”. Northern Foods then applied to the Court of Appeal in March 2006²⁰⁵ but in November 2006 they withdrew this appeal. This allowed the PGI to be submitted to the Commission.²⁰⁶ The favourable rulings judicially stabilised the MMPPA's reading although little light has been shed on the mechanisms by which the boundaries of such 'cultural' foods should be determined.

The Melton Mowbray producers have ensured that their interpretation of place, boundaries, and tradition have been incorporated into the 'manufacture' of the pies. These attributes have singularised Melton pies from those of their external competitors. The MMPPA's enthusiastic employment of these concepts has been packaged in the all-encompassing idea of the 'authentic' pork pie.

²⁰¹Northern Foods Plc (Claimant) v The Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defendant) in the High Court of Justice (n/d 2005) Grounds of Resistance on Behalf of DEFRA Paragraph 26; hereafter DEFRA response 2005.

²⁰² DEFRA response 2005 Paragraph 31.

²⁰³ Northern Foods Plc (Claimant) v The Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defendant) and Melton Mowbray Pork Pie Association (Interested Party) in the High Court of Justice (29 July 2005) Detailed Grounds of the Interested Party Paragraph 7.

²⁰⁴ Regulation 2081/92 Article 2 Paragraph 2b and Article 4 Paragraph 2d.

²⁰⁵ Northern Foods Plc (Appellant) v The Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Respondent) and Melton Mowbray Pork Pie Association (Interested Party) in the Court of Appeal (15 March 2006) Minute of Order.

²⁰⁶ Northern Foods sold their Melton Mowbray production section – Pork Farms – to the venture capital outfit Vision Capital in January 2007. Pork Farms relocated to Nottingham and now makes compliant Melton Mowbrays which are advertised on their website as “an authentic recipe protected by European Guidelines.”

VII. The Consumption of 'Authenticity'.

Consumers have become increasingly interested in the biographies of their food. They want to know from which delineated locations their foods originate and the methods by which they are created. Food consumption can help to support an authentic manner of living described by Edward Relph (1976: 64) as one which “connotes that which is genuine, unadulterated, without hypocrisy, and honest to itself, not just in terms of superficial characteristics, but at depth.” However, consumers require accurate information about these geographies in order to achieve this ambitious goal. Matthew O’Callaghan recognises that consumers wish to ‘eat’ history:

“In spite of the [current] recession – things like Melton Mowbray products are expanding. Why? Because people want a treat and if you want a pork pie as a treat you don’t go and buy one from the garage – you actually buy a proper pork pie and have that experience. That’s why our [members’] sales are increasing. It’s a bit like buying a designer product. I don’t mean a contemporary designer product but it’s like buying a Harris Tweed [cloth]. What you’re [the consumer] doing is buying that history and that whole package. When people buy a Melton Mowbray Pork Pie they are buying the heritage.”²⁰⁷

This conception of the authentic appears different from terms like ‘ethical’ (whatever this might mean in an era of low-paid immigrant labour and sweatshops), ‘organic’ (which is an increasingly dubious qualification), or ‘quality’ (a powerful notion but one which has no essential connection to place). External producers could create pork pies through the use of identical ingredients, good quality meat, and similar production methods. The MMPPA argue that quality is replicable out-of-place while authenticity derives from place. This is why the MMPPA market their pies as authentic (see Plate 4.10). Ian Hartland explains the difference between pies of quality and those which are authentic:

“It might mean that somebody in Newcastle [for example] would make a lovely hand-made pie and is using exactly the same ingredients [as me] but it’s not a Melton Mowbray. He might say: ‘It’s exactly the same’ and it may be exactly the same

²⁰⁷ Matthew O’Callaghan (MMPPA), 13/09/10.

Plate 4.10: Dickinson & Morris sales board which emphasises the pies' authenticity.



but it's not a Melton Mowbray because it's not from this area. I've tasted some great pies around the country that look like ours, made the same way, great ingredients, but – ultimately – they're not a Melton Mowbray Pork Pie.”²⁰⁸

Pork pie connoisseurs are unlikely to refer to the legal intricacies of the PFN system when contemplating whether or not a 'Melton Mowbray' is *bona fide*. The PGI logo may, in future, become more popular but, for now, the 'Authentic Melton Mowbray' badging (see Figure 4.3) is more effective due to its overt connection between the pies and place of manufacture. It creates a comparison between authentic place-based pies and inauthentic out-of-place pies. Matthew O'Callaghan describes how 'authenticity' became the preferred marketing terminology:

“There was the suggestion of using 'traditional', the suggestion of using 'original', etc. My view was to use the word 'authentic'. If you say your pies are 'traditional' – what does that mean because making them in the factory [for a considerable period]

²⁰⁸ Ian Hartland (Mrs Kings), 14/10/10.

Figure 4.3: The MMPPA's 'Authentic Melton Mowbray' logo.



may be regarded as 'traditional'. Using 'original'. Well, what does 'original' mean? So we went for 'authentic'.”²⁰⁹

Consumers may think that 'authentic' pies are produced by an 'artisanal' style of production where small rural manufacturers toil away to intricately produce hand-made edibles for sale at local farmers' markets or independent delicatessens. This is certainly the image provided by anthropologist Jillian Cavanaugh's (2007) investigation of Bergamo salami which is only regarded as *salame nostrano* (our salami) when created by small-scale traditional methods. The American Cheese Society – according to Heather Paxson (2010a: 39) – “defines artisanal in terms of the cheese-maker's art – rather than craft or even skill – as art gained cultural and philosophical status at the same time that craft was devalued through its association with manual (if skilled) labour.” This perspective would not be appreciated by the MMPPA as it ignores commercial realities since mass produced Melton Mowbrays are made in large factories and bought and sold by the major supermarket chains. The PGI production mechanism²¹⁰ is – like the list of ingredients mentioned earlier – fairly flexible. Both factory-made pies and hand-made pies conform to the regulation. The pies can even be frozen as they may need to be stored for some weeks before consumption.²¹¹ Matthew O'Callaghan insists that mass-produced pies are still authentic:

²⁰⁹ Matthew O'Callaghan (MMPPA), 13/09/10.

“Even though they [mass produced pies] are produced on a large scale we'll [the MMPPA] make sure that they're made to the correct recipe and – as far as possible – you will have that same experience. It may well be that the pie is not hand-raised or crimped on the top by hand so it might not look as artisanal as some others, but the taste and flavour will be the same. You have to differentiate between 'artisanal' and 'authentic'. Authentic does not mean artisanal and there's such a demand for Melton Mowbrays that we could set up little factories all over [the protected area] and they [the output] still wouldn't satisfy the demand.”²¹²

The business model of Dickinson & Morris demonstrates this issue. A lack of production space²¹³ dictates that most pies sold from *Ye Olde Pork Pie Shoppe* are not indigenous but made at the Charnwood Bakery in Leicestershire.²¹⁴ Customers pay a small premium to purchase 'hand-crafted' pies that are made on the premises. I was surprised when Stephen Hallam informed me that pies made externally are of superior quality to 'hand-crafted' pies made *in situ*:

“The majority of the other pies – not the top [hand-crafted] ones are made and baked fifteen miles away at Charnwood Bakery because look at what we've got [gesticulating]. We just haven't got the space. Guilty of your own success if you like – which is great. Arguably, the quality of those [Charnwood] pies is probably better than what comes from here because of the efficiency of the ovens and the bakery and the environment in which they're made and baked is that much sharper than in here. This [in the shop] is more arty-crafty hands-on.”²¹⁵

²¹⁰ The PGI (Section 4.5) explains that “the pastry ingredients are mixed together, formed into billets [a baking term for the ball of pastry ready to be made into pies] and lids, then rested prior to pie manufacture. The pork meat is diced or minced and mixed with filling ingredients. The pastry billets are either blocked in hoops or raised round a dolly or similar supports. The pie filling is divided into billets and placed into the pie base and the pre-cut or sheeted pastry lid is placed over the pie and crimped to seal. Some pies are hand raised and some pies are finished off with a decorative hand crimp. They are then ejected from their hoops and placed on to a baking tray without support. Some pies may be frozen in this state and stored to be baked later, or sold frozen to be baked at home. The pies are then baked to a golden brown pastry colour, allowed to cool and jellied.”

²¹¹ Samworth Brothers do not freeze pies which have already been baked. They do freeze them prior to baking.

²¹² Matthew O'Callaghan (MMPPA), 13/09/10.

²¹³ I visited the shop on four occasions and it was always congested.

²¹⁴ The Charnwood Bakery is owned by Samworth Brothers.

²¹⁵ Stephen Hallam (Dickinson & Morris), 15/10/10.

Hand-made pies are cumbersome to make in considerable quantities and the results are often inconsistent. The producers view consistency as a crucial signal of high quality. Dickinson & Morris no longer make hand-made pies because the lack of consistency is unappealing to consumers. It would appear that consumers demand a very particular type of authenticity – a place-based product and palatable 'story' – but are rather less enthusiastic if traditional methods negatively affect the consistent appearance and taste of the finished pie:

“Hand-raised' means that you will have used your hands to raise the pastry around the mould. That's quite specific. You should not be calling a pie hand-raised if you have not raised it by hand. We used to do one [hand-raised] here like that. We stopped it at the beginning of this year [2010] and we moved to raising the pie in a hoop, fill it, lid it, and take the hoop off and bake it. From that you get consistency because take 10 pairs of these [shows me his hands] attached to 10 brains and you'll get 10 different products even though you're using exactly the same dolly and exactly the same pastry. From a quality and a professional point of view – you need consistency. You – as a consumer – would not want to regularly buy one of these pies if the sides are thick or thin because one side will be burnt and the other side will be raw or *vice versa*. You want to know that what you buy is consistently the same. So you have to employ methods to get that consistency.”²¹⁶

An unintended side-effect of the baking process is a defect known as 'boil out' which occurs when meat juices flow out over the pastry, dribble down the sides, and burn which leaves unsightly dark streaks. This issue illustrates the conflict between notions of authenticity and those of quality. Pies considered authentic may not be thought of high quality if there is excessive boil out. Considerable boil out is too 'exotic' for consumers who nonetheless appreciate the authentic status that derives from hand-made production. Boil out can – unlike an insufficient amount of meat which is always negative – be utilised as a positive construct which signifies a level of artisan production. Pork Farms, in 2010, challenged a proposed amendment to the PGI²¹⁷

²¹⁶ Stephen Hallam (Dickinson & Morris), 15/10/10.

²¹⁷ The Amendment requested the insertion of “glaze (egg and / or milk)” and “breadcrumbs or rusk < 2%” and “starch <5%”. The glaze “enhances the golden brown colour of the baked pastry” while breadcrumbs or rusk and starch are “thickening agents [which] ensure that the filling is workable (when raw), act to retain the meat juices when the product is baked, and ensure that the meat texture achieved in the baked product is consistent”. The use of starch controls boil out. Pork Farms did not object to the use of glaze, breadcrumbs, or rusk but argued that starch was an insufficiently traditional ingredient.

which sought to legitimise the use of potato starch to prevent boil out. They claimed that “consumer feedback is that boil out is expected on a traditional pork pie and adds to the perception of high quality, carefully crafted authentic products.”²¹⁸ The manufacturers also must consider their point of sale. Mrs Kings Pork Pies retail from their workshop in Cotgrave and stall at Borough Market. Consumers will eat these pies within a couple of days and be more tolerant of boil out as these are artisanal retail locations. It is clear from this discussion that ideas of quality and authenticity have become irrevocably interlinked. A streaky Melton Mowbray is authentic but can not be retailed. Mark Samworth explains the difficult demarcation between 'appropriate' and 'excessive' levels of authenticity:

“Boil out's a particular issue because, on the one hand, when it's sold off the market – it's a sign of artisan crafts. If you put the same product in Tesco – it would be a sign of wastage to the company because people won't pick it off the shelf. We [Samworth Brothers] can get away with one or two streaks of boil out but not three or four. With regards to what we can produce and sell to the public – we need to control boil out but not eradicate it. If you're selling it out of the back of a van in the market and it's going to be consumed on the same day: no problem. We have to be aware that there are different markets for different products.”²¹⁹

It currently appears that – after this elaborate period of social construction – the in-place manufacturers have finally achieved their long desired victory over their external rivals with the development of the 'authentic' pork pie. This procedure required some complex cultural work to be done. The MMPPA and DEFRA – through what proved to be a bitter process of negotiation – sought to articulate and stabilise the many geographical notions that collectively have come to define 'Melton Mowbray'. The MMPPA challenged where Melton Mowbrays could be made, how they should be created, and the ingredients they must contain. The MMPPA now 'own' the definition of 'Melton Mowbray' which means that only pies made inside the boundaries in the required manner can be lawfully regarded as authentic.

²¹⁸ Application to Amend the Protected Geographical Indication Specification for Melton Mowbray Pork Pie: Decision Letter, 17 November 2011, Page 7. DEFRA accepted the MMPPA's amendment proposal.

²¹⁹ Mark Samworth (Samworth Brothers), 31/01/11.

VIII. The Stabilised Pork Pie?

This chapter investigated a variety of constructions that are integral to the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie. These include the formation of the MMPPA; its members' rationale for the acquisition of PGI status; their desire to control place and methods of production; the use of singularisation techniques to differentiate between in-place and out-of-place producers; the employment of the PGI to create a gastro-tourism industry; the use of history to invent, modify, and justify expansive boundaries; the interconnection between perspectives of authenticity and those of quality; and the packaging of place, tradition, and the PGI to form the 'authentic' pork pie. In this conclusive section I analyse two issues which encapsulate what I regard as the most interesting components of this case: the mechanism by which the MMPPA destabilised the taken-for-granted interpretation of 'Melton Mowbray' and the manner whereby the town was re-conceptualised to signify an amplified territory.

The first issue is the way in which the formation of the MMPPA challenged the 'anything goes' place of manufacture and methods of production. The pies' debated status was contested by oppositional groups who were engaged in a fractious and high-profile dispute over their identity and ownership. On one side of this factional war was Northern Foods who challenged the MMPPA (pork pie producers, O'Callaghan, and Edenborough), officials at DEFRA (who supported the MMPPA's quest), High Court judges (who ruled in favour of DEFRA and the MMPPA), and the media (who were attracted to a case which appeared to pit a local organisation against a powerful out-of-place multinational). The participants in any network are working towards a goal (or aim to maintain an achievement already satisfied) and thus stability is necessary to perpetuate the dominant ideology. The initial situation – that a 'Melton Mowbray' could legitimately be made anywhere – was a stable scenario when there were no objections to these vagaries of production. The creation of the MMPPA and the demand for protected status gradually shifted this perspective. The MMPPA wished to create a more exclusive terminology where location and methods of production were strictly regulated while Northern Foods wanted to perpetuate the established (dis)order. The eventual acquisition of protected status has created a new definition which has irreversibly connected the pies to place. This structure is 'social' as it relies upon consumer support, the media, positive publicity, and events like the British Pie Awards in order to solidify the award of protection. The PGI has become conventionalised which means that its formerly contested status has receded in

importance. Its ambiguous geography and inconsistent history have become increasingly irrelevant as they are now transcended by present-day acceptance.

The second situation is the mechanism by which the MMPPA's boundaries were established and justified. The place understood in a PFN context as 'Melton Mowbray' is considerably larger than its initial referent. It was first imagined by the MMPPA in a rather static manner to incorporate the town and immediate surrounding area. But political compromise meant that place was provided with a fluidity that would have been unimaginable in the early years of the struggle. Boundaries once determined through an assumption of traders' movements expanded to include towns like Grantham and Northampton which were originally excluded from the protected zone. The creation of this territorial arena could only be achieved through the assertion that 'Melton Mowbray' is mere shorthand for a considerably greater expanse. This perspective regards place as porous in a manner similar to that advocated by contemporary scholars of geography. This type of boundary changing scheme could affect the public perception of protected foods as consumers who discover that supposedly place-based foods were actually made in apparently external areas might become sceptical about the entire PFN regime especially if they also learn that boundaries can be moved for political purposes.

The next chapter presents Stilton Cheese and the Stilton Cheesemakers' Association (SCMA). The SCMA's uncontroversial acquisition of PDO status in 1996 exemplifies the mechanism by which prestigious and traditional foods were able to swiftly gain protection. We shall see, however, that events as recent as January 2013 indicate that the supposedly stable Stilton network is under sustained threat from two highly-motivated organisations who wish to alter both the geography and production methods of the PDO.

Chapter V

'Stabilising' Stilton: Boundaries, Pasteurisation, and the 'King of English Cheeses'.

I. The Unimpeachable Cheese?

Stilton Cheese is internationally renowned for its blue-veined appearance, acquired taste, and pungent aroma. This case is of particular interest to scholars of place and authenticity because – as this work went to press – two motivated groups are challenging the aspects of Stilton's Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) which regulate place and methods of production. This is a long-standing and economically successful protected name whose producers understandably wish to maintain the *status quo*. The Melton Mowbray manufacturers gained protection after an exhausting legal battle while the Stilton producers may shortly enter the world of litigation. This section interrogates how Stilton's controllers invoke their subjective and perhaps contradictory constructions of place and *terroir*. It suggests that the historical geography of Stilton production can best be revealed during times of upheaval when its infrastructure is subject to destabilising influences.

I first explain in this chapter how the Stilton Cheesemakers' Association (SCMA) uses both the PDO and a trademark to protect the famous 'Stilton' name. I investigate the construction of 'physical' and 'human' *terroir* to determine whether the qualities of land or producers' cheese-making skills are considered the main justification for protection. It will, however, become apparent that there is no clear understanding of *terroir* despite the idea that the cheese is protected due to its supposedly unique place-based features. Stilton “can only be produced in the three counties of Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Leicestershire; must be made from locally produced milk that has been pasteurised before use; can only be made in a cylindrical shape; must be allowed to form its own coat or crust; must never be pressed; [and] must have the magical blue veins radiating from the centre of the cheese.”²²⁰ Stilton's obligatory shape and blue-veined wizardry are uncontroversial but the place of production and mandated use of pasteurised milk are rather more contentious. The first dispute pertains to boundaries which were created through an appeal to a history that privileges certain locations while the second challenge seeks to overturn the

²²⁰ Website: www.stiltoncheese.com

requirement that Stilton be formed from pasteurised milk. I commence this chapter by analysing why Stilton is protected by two different types of Intellectual Property (IP).

II. The Certification Trademark and the Protected Designation of Origin.

Stilton is an unusual protected name because it is not validated by PDO status alone. The SCMA also acquired a form of IP known as a Certification Trademark (CTM).²²¹ The CTM (see Figure 5.1) was granted in 1966 and allows the Stilton manufacturers to use 'Stilton' alongside their own brand names. The SCMA has taken an assertive approach and has successfully obtained CTMs in Australia, Canada, China, Denmark, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, South Africa, and the US.²²² The SCMA 'Good Labelling Practice' guidelines stress that every mention of 'Stilton' must include the ® symbol to demonstrate the name is a registered trademark (see Plates 5.1 and 5.2).²²³ Nigel White (the Secretary of the SCMA) explains why the SCMA decided to request this form of IP:

“Stilton was different from any other protected food name in the sense that it got protection in the UK in 1966. They [the SCMA] applied for a Certification Trademark in 1962 – it was rejected by the Registrar and went to appeal and they [the SCMA] went to the High Court and the High Court overturned the Registrar and said: 'It can be registered as a Certification Trademark.' The Certification Trademark was put in place to protect the producers who had invested a lot of time and money in building up a reputation for the product.”²²⁴

White suggests that the SCMA's acquisition of the CTM was an economic decision designed to protect the Stilton producers from 'counterfeiting' of their valuable and established name by out-of-place cheese-makers. He also notes two disadvantages of the CTM. The first problem is that a CTM must be acquired in each country. This necessitates hiring local legal counsel which can be expensive. The laws of each country are different and hence the procedure varies. Lawyer Ivy Doster (2006:

²²¹ The producers must also comply with all other relevant food legislation and in particular the Cheese and Cream Regulations (1995) which states that the water content for Blue Stilton must be a maximum of 42 percent.

²²² Stilton Cheese Registration: Dossier Number UK/PDO/0017/0277 Section 8.

²²³ SCMA Good Labelling Practice for Stilton Cheese, March 2011.

²²⁴ Interview with Nigel White (Secretary, Stilton Cheesemakers' Association), 25 January 2011.

Figure 5.1: The SCMA's CTM logo.



Certification Trade Mark

Plate 5.1: Co-operative Rich & Creamy Blue Stilton.²²⁵



²²⁵ The label shows the logo for Assured Food Standards better known as the Red Tractor scheme. These foods are guaranteed to originate from British farms and meet high standards of food safety, animal welfare, and environmental protection. The label also depicts the CTM, the International Cheese Awards trophy, and the PDO. The name of the producer is not shown although the reverse of the packet depicts the health mark ME003 which indicates that Long Clawson is the supplier.

Plate 5.2: Tesco Mature Blue Stilton from Long Clawson Dairy.



880) stresses that “individualized protection requires the creation of a certification organization which is very expensive. Many producers of regional speciality cheeses do not have the resources necessary to fund such an organization.” The SCMA does, of course, exist and works for the benefit of its members (see Table 5.1) but nonetheless invoking its protective desires in multiple countries was financially prohibitive. The second issue is that the CTM owner is responsible for enforcement. This means that the SCMA has to discover violations – cheeses fraudulently ‘passed off’ as Stilton – and then instruct (and pay) their lawyers to demand redress. This is a time-consuming and costly proposition and not all countries are devoted to the protection of IP.

The solution – at least throughout the EU – was to apply for protected status. The Stilton PDO was duly granted in June 1996 under the ‘fast-track’ policy of Regulation 2081/92 which enabled the initial 22 UK food and drink applications²²⁶ to swiftly gain protection. 2081/92 states that “within six months of the entry into force of the Regulation, Member States shall inform the Commission which of their legally

²²⁶ The 22 names were Beacon Fell Traditional Lancashire Cheese (PDO), Blue Stilton Cheese (PDO), Bonchester Cheese (PDO), Buxton Blue Cheese (PDO), Dovedale Cheese (PDO), Gloucestershire Cider (PGI), Gloucestershire Perry (PGI), Herefordshire Cider (PGI), Herefordshire Perry (PGI), Jersey Royal Potatoes (PDO), Kentish Ale (PGI), Kentish Strong Ale (PGI), Orkney Beef (PDO), Orkney Lamb (PDO), Rutland Bitter (PGI), Single Gloucester Cheese (PDO), Swaledale Cheese (PDO), Swaledale Ewes Cheese (PDO), West Country Farmhouse Cheddar Cheese (PDO), White Stilton Cheese (PDO), Worcestershire Cider (PGI), and Worcestershire Perry (PGI).

Table 5.1: Blue Stilton Cheese producers: January 2013.²²⁷

Name of Producer	Location	Member Code
Colston Bassett Dairy	Nottingham	HK004 / KT26 ²²⁸
Cropwell Bishop Creamery	Nottingham	RF009
Long Clawson Dairy	Melton Mowbray	ME003
Quenby Hall Dairy ²²⁹	Hungarton, Leicestershire	HH7
Tuxford & Tebbutt Creamery	Melton Mowbray	ME005
Webster's Dairy ²³⁰	Melton Mowbray	ME006

protected names or, in those Member States where there is no protection system [like the UK], which of their names established by usage they wish to register pursuant to this Regulation.”²³¹ This seminal event initiated the Protected Food Names (PFN) scheme in the UK. The production of each of these 22 foods and drinks was considered by the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) to possess a long and consistent history within a defined area. Simon Johnson (a Policy Advisor in the Food Policy Unit at DEFRA) details how the 'fast-track' system operated:

“The ones [producers of now-protected foods and drinks like Stilton] that moved quickly were very clever because the criteria [for protection] were much more lenient [than today]. There was a whole wave in June 1996 and we used to call that the 'first list' of names that were protected. There was no [European] vote on that first list because there were so many areas of dispute and, eventually, the way that the EU system works, it [the list from all EU countries] ended up with the Council of Ministers discussing it and various deals were done and eventually it [the outcome] was agreed. There was no public scrutiny with the fast-track applications. There was no formal consultation either at domestic or EU level of the publication in the [EU] Official Journal. Everybody submitted full

²²⁷ There is also a producer of White Stilton called Shirevale (Nottingham).

²²⁸ The health mark for Colston Bassett depends on who packages their cheese: Bradbury and Son (HK004) or Anthony Rowcliffe & Son (KT26).

²²⁹ Quenby Hall ceased Stilton production in May 2011 due to financial difficulties. I interviewed their Operations Director in February 2011 and thus include the Dairy in Table 5.1.

²³⁰ Webster's is not a member of the SCMA.

²³¹ Regulation 2081/92 Article 17 Paragraph 1. The fast-tracked names were protected under Commission Regulation (EC) No 1107/96 of 12 June 1996 on the Registration of Geographical Indications and Designations of Origin Under the Procedure Laid Down in Article 17 of Council Regulation (EEC) No 2081/92. A list of fast-tracked products is located at: eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:31996R1107:EN:HTML

specifications and they were looked at by Member States and the Member States may have consulted interested parties. We certainly did at the time. So, for a cheese, you would speak to Dairy UK [a lobbying organisation] and also to the retailers, and you might have got objections. All the ones [applications] that had been submitted to the Member States before the deadline – they all got dealt with [most were protected].”²³²

The SCMA did not therefore have to 'fight' to obtain PDO status. It was fairly simple to acquire as it was a more detailed re-statement of the existing CTM. It also helped that there was a political desire in the mid-1990s to establish the PFN scheme in the UK. The British government wanted to demonstrate its food heritage to other EU members. It is unclear whether the Stilton producers consider the CTM or PDO to be more economically valuable. Stilton producers who 'grew up' with the CTM are well placed to compare what benefits (if any) have been additionally provided by the PDO. Alan Whiston (the Operations Director at Quenby Hall Dairy which targeted the low volume 'top-tier' Stilton consumer)²³³ believes that the usefulness of protected status derived from the work of the SCMA (and its judicious employment of the CTM) rather than the more recently-obtained PDO:

“The SCMA exists to protect the good name of Stilton. I know the PDO is part of that [aim] but the PDO came along after the Association [was formed]. I was always aware that the SCMA existed. I don't really remember a great deal about the PDO. I suppose it [PDO protection] was the logical thing to do considering there already was the protection of the SCMA [via the CTM].”²³⁴

There are three fundamental differences between the CTM and the PDO. First, the responsibility for challenging violations of the Stilton name transferred from the SCMA to Trading Standards. The SCMA hoped that they would aggressively prosecute. This assumption was optimistic because protected name owners now accept that Trading Standards view 'forgery' of protected names as significantly less important than targeting medicinal counterfeiters or aggressive salespeople cold-calling the elderly. Second, the PDO operates throughout the EU whereas the CTM needed to be accumulated in each EU state. This issue is particularly relevant because the EU has

²³² Interview with Simon Johnson (Policy Advisor, Food Policy Unit, Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs), 25 November 2010.

²³³ Website: www.quenbyhall.co.uk/stilton/about-us

²³⁴ Interview with Alan Whiston (Operations Director, Quenby Hall Dairy), 16 February 2011.

expanded from 15 states in 1996 (when Stilton was protected) to 27 countries today.²³⁵ The third difference is the mechanism by which geography is enrolled. The CTM – similar to the PDO – states that Stilton can only be legally produced in Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Nottinghamshire. But the CTM's connection with any form of geographic specificity is considerably weaker than that of the PDO because the latter is a form of IP which was specifically constructed to 'enclose' defined places. Simon Johnson explains why it was sensible for the SCMA to apply for PDO status even though they owned CTMs throughout Europe:

“They [the SCMA] were very ahead in terms of wanting to protect Stilton. I think they were motivated by the fact that if they got the PDO – it would mean they no longer had to worry about getting trademark protection within the EU, because the advantage to the PDO is: you get it registered – you don't have to renew it at any point. Once you've invested the time and money in getting it registered: that's pretty much it. For them [the SCMA] – it [the PDO] was a real benefit.”²³⁶

The PDO is predicated on the assumption that *terroir* affects the finished cheese. The CTM is what might be called a 'conventional' form of IP whereas the PDO is geographically specific. However, it is not immediately obvious how this geographical particularity can be manifested through constructions of *terroir*. In particular, it is unclear to what extent producer understandings of 'physical' and 'human' *terroir* have been used to obtain and legitimise Stilton's protected status.

III. Place and *Terroir* in Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Nottinghamshire.

Products awarded PDO status are supposed to have their production, processing and preparation occur within the protected area.²³⁷ A Protected Geographical Indication (PGI), by comparison, only requires that one of these three components operate in the defined area.²³⁸ It is therefore axiomatic that PDO foods like Stilton are supposed to have the 'deepest' connection to place. However, the legislation remains vague in specifying exactly which factors must be present in the construction of the

²³⁵ The additional 12 countries in which Stilton was automatically protected are Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania, the Slovak Republic, and Slovenia.

²³⁶ Simon Johnson (DEFRA), 25/11/10.

²³⁷ Council Regulation (EEC) No 2081/92 of 14 July 1992 on the Protection of Geographical Indications and Designations of Origin for Agricultural Products and Foodstuffs Article 2 Paragraph 2a.

²³⁸ Council Regulation 2081/92 Article 2 Paragraphs 2b.

food or in what proportion. For example, it makes no assertions as to whether the 'natural' or 'human' elements of *terroir* should take precedence in establishing the legitimacy of claims to protection.

The Stilton PDO asserts the significance of the 'natural' component when framing the argument for protection. Organisms within the Stilton network include soil, grass, bacteria, fungi, and milk. Yet it must be said that the SCMA's appeal to nature is somewhat vague. It is clear from the PDO text that a wide variety of climatic conditions apply to the protected area and that the PDO does not require a specific range of temperatures or humidities. Further, seasonality means that the temperature and humidity (among other variables) will change over time. Additionally, surface conditions will vary dramatically throughout this large territory. Some areas will be entirely urban, others semi-urban, or completely rural. Only a select percentage of the protected area will be suitable for quality grazing. However, the PDO states unequivocally that the physical conditions are crucial to the taste of Stilton:

“The climatic conditions existing in the counties of Leicestershire, Derbyshire, and Nottinghamshire play a great part in the production of Stilton cheese. The[y] experience a temperate climate. The temperature rarely reaches extremes and the humidity is less than in the rest of England. These moderate conditions are essential. The East Midlands offer[s] particular geographical conditions which give Stilton cheese its distinctive taste. Thanks to the high level of the water table, the counties of Leicestershire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire provide a very rich soil most appropriate for agricultural purposes. Consequently, because the cows feed on grass growing on a rich soil, they produce rich high quality milk, necessary for making Stilton cheese.”²³⁹

It might therefore be expected – considering this impressive promotion of place – that the Stilton producers will foreground the specific qualities of the 'three counties' (see Figures 5.2 and 5.3) which help to create Stilton, namely the temperature, humidity, and high level of the water table which apparently creates the exceptional outcome believed to be consistently generated by these phenomena. It might also be thought that the producers would specify the locations from which they source the

²³⁹ PDO Regulation Section 6.

Figure 5.2: Map of the Stilton production area.



Figure 5.3: Map of the Blue Stilton producers.



milk when promoting their cheese. But this will only occur if the producers consider the 'natural' component to be most significant. This topic is of considerable geographical interest as claims to the 'naturalness' of *terroir* lead its advocates to not only occlude the human element of production but additionally to diminish the significance of human factors that have directly contributed to the supposedly 'natural' landscape (for example, alterations made to the ground surface through the diversion of rivers or via the erection of fences and other boundaries).

David Skailes (the Managing Director of Cropwell Bishop Creamery which is the smallest Stilton producer)²⁴⁰ sources all his milk from the Peak District in Derbyshire (see Plate 5.3).²⁴¹ He has contracted with 12 local farmers who operate as his dedicated suppliers. He believes that the grass in the Peak District is superior because of the historical way that farming therein developed. Skailes informed me that the steep slopes and stone walls (used as boundaries) indicate that the Peak District is between 40 and 50 years 'behind' other farming areas. He argues that the Peak District has been subject to limited agricultural development and hence the cows which produce his milk graze on more 'natural' pastures. He considers this particular area to produce the 'good milk' sufficient for making PDO cheese. Skailes believes that it is physically impossible to make Stilton outside the three counties because the milk would possess a 'different character'.²⁴² He thus endorses the centrality of 'physical' *terroir*. Billy Kevan (the Dairy Manager of Colston Bassett Dairy which was the last Stilton producer to pasteurise)²⁴³ also argues that physical *terroir* directly affects the inherent attributes and quality of the resultant cheese:

“Within 20 miles of here [Colston Bassett] – the milk will be different. There's clay, there's limestone, there's all sorts of different types of land where the grazing is for the cows. If you compare Derbyshire's hilly area and the grass growing on their hills to grass growing on the flat [land] – there's going to be a big difference.”²⁴⁴

However, directly contradicting the argument that these two producers make about the importance of milk specificity, it is noteworthy that some dairies use what is

²⁴⁰ Website: www.cropwellbishopstilton.com

²⁴¹ Interview with David Skailes (Managing Director, Cropwell Bishop Creamery), 31 January 2011.

²⁴² David Skailes (Cropwell Bishop), 31/01/11.

²⁴³ Website: www.colstonbassettdairy.com

²⁴⁴ Interview with Billy Kevan (Dairy Manager, Colston Bassett Dairy), 22 February 2011.

Plate 5.3: Hand-wrapped Cropwell Bishop Blue and Organic Blue Stilton purchased at the Creamery.



known as 'pooled' milk which is collected by the Milk Link organisation (a co-operative owned by dairy farmers).²⁴⁵ This milk is drawn from hundreds of farms and the dairies are supplied with the intermingled admixture. It must not be thought that this milk violates the PDO as it all derives from farms located in the three counties. Billy Kevan explains the logistics to milk sourcing at Colston Bassett:

“We have a daily delivery. If my farmers [that I have a contract with] are producing 10,000 litres of milk a day and I need 13,000 [litres], then Milk Link will top it up about 3,000 litres from another farm until I get the right volume, and when I've got too much – say I only want 9,000 litres – but they're [the farms] producing 12,000 [litres], then they [Milk Link] dispose of the milk for us. All of that milk has got to be from Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire.”²⁴⁶

The use of pooled milk means that the unique characteristics of milk which emanate from each farm will have been either eliminated or at least significantly

²⁴⁵ Website: www.milklink.com

²⁴⁶ Billy Kevan (Colston Bassett), 22/02/11.

undermined by the mixing process. The assumption that *terroir* is 'real' and able to affect the cheese should provide grounds to object to the very notion of pooled milk. One American cheese-maker interviewed by Heather Paxson (2008: 26) went so far as to claim that “if a sheep eats a stray thistle, you taste it in the cheese made from that day's milk.” Indeed, anthropologist Harry West (forthcoming) makes the provocative allegation that “industrial cheese makers [...] seek to eliminate threatening variables wherever possible [yet] the scale of industrial cheese production generally requires that milk be sourced from numerous and, often, distant dairies.” Nonetheless, Skales and Kevan clearly feel – judging from their earlier comments – that *terroir* is localised and determines the essential character of their Stilton.

Whether the raw milk is sourced from individual farms or entirely supplied by Milk Link becomes irrelevant if its quality is reduced by an inferior herd. Similarly, if the grass in these localities is affected by soils of inconsistent quality, negative weather, and excessive human intervention (if, for example, the land is over-fertilised or polluted), then the cows will consume poor quality fodder and produce inferior milk which will create sub-standard cheese. Consequently, even the most ardent and passionate supporter of physical *terroir* cannot claim that quality is completely predicated on the unalloyed 'natural' landscape because a poor herd will harm milk quality. Billy Kevan acknowledges that *terroir* can be subjugated by the bloodline of each herd:

“There's varying qualities of milk throughout the year. The natural flora [in the pasture] for each herd is going to be fairly specific. [But] you can take two different herds on the same bit of land in two years and have two types of milk. One herd might be a premium herd which provides good quality and one might not be [premium] and just gives you a lot of liquid which is not good quality milk.”²⁴⁷

The raw milk normally originates from cows which graze in the three counties although – perhaps surprisingly – this requirement is not obligatory. The PDO states that Stilton is “produced by dairy herds from the three counties of Leicestershire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire (at peak times [...] it has become necessary to maintain the practice of milk being brought in from the surrounding counties of Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Greater Manchester,

²⁴⁷ Billy Kevan (Colston Bassett), 22/02/11.

Cheshire, Yorkshire, and Lincolnshire.”²⁴⁸ This suggests that there is minimal geographical specificity to the production of milk sourced during these peak periods. There is some debate about when external milk can be used. Stilton is particularly popular around the Christmas period and commercial realities during November and December are such that producers often demand external milk in order to meet production requirements.

The ability to source from out-of-place reassures the producers that they can overcome any localised milk catastrophes. Concerns about the potential unavailability of milk (or, as we saw in the Melton Mowbray case, pork) are crucial to what may initially appear a rather 'relaxed' attitude towards the exactness of place. It may be impossible for an 'outsider' to appreciate the devastation caused by food crises such as Foot-and-mouth disease (FMD), *Bovine spongiform encephalopathy* (BSE), and *Salmonella*. Ian Convery *et al.* (2005), for example, compassionately describe the emotional geographies of the 2001 FMD crisis through interviews with devastated North Cumbrian farmers. They make it clear that such crises have a long-term impact on producers whose 'culture' is destroyed or irreparably altered. The need for flexibility ensures that milk can be sourced from external areas and thus will override the specificities of *terroir* in the three counties. It appears that – in order to prevent food disasters – *terroir* has suddenly become less relevant. The potential impact of food crises ensures that producers can source from nearby counties. Alan Whiston explains this procedure:

“I think the wording [in the PDO] is 'in times of crisis' – not so much for Christmas volume but in times of crisis – and in terms of things like an extended drought period in the summer. In time of crisis you could bring in milk from adjoining counties – Staffordshire and Lincolnshire. There's not very much milk in Lincolnshire but [it would be] from the adjoining areas.”²⁴⁹

The inspection regime aims to ensure that all manufacturers are in full compliance with the PDO. This involves checking dairy logbooks to determine the origin of the milk. Yet even the most rigorous inspection cannot conclusively prove that the *terroir* of Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Nottingham is solely able to produce Stilton. First, as mentioned, the landscape throughout the three counties has a variety of characteristics. It is impossible to claim a coherent physical *terroir* for the entire

²⁴⁸ PDO Regulation Section “Justification of use of the derogation in Article 2 (4) of Regulation No 2081/92. The raw materials of the products concerned come from a geographical area larger than or different from the processing area.”

²⁴⁹ Alan Whiston (Quenby Hall), 16/02/11.

protected area. Second, the results would need to be compared to the physical constitution of external locales to attempt to supply some level of objective difference. But which areas would be selected and why? Third, even if it was somehow possible to find a *terroir* for the three counties and compare it to an external *terroir* it is still unclear what the potential results could prove. Any difference between the two groups of *terroirs* could not *ipso facto* demonstrate that only *terroir* in the Stilton area is capable of creating the cheese in a manner superior to that which could theoretically be developed from external area(s). Alan Whiston describes how the aforementioned inspection monitors the 'physical' and 'human' *terroir* inherent to Stilton production:

“The traceability of the milk is to make sure that the milk comes from a certain place [the three counties] and he [the inspector] looks at the moisture and the constituents of the cheese in terms of salt content, fat, moisture, and protein. He'd look at those and generally make sure that you comply to the shape of it. You wouldn't get away with making a square Stilton for the sake of more efficiency rather than making rounds. The end consumer wouldn't know any different about whether it [the cheese] has come out of a square block or a round block. He [the inspector] would audit those sorts of things.”²⁵⁰

This focus on human skills and the inspection regime suggests that place and its *terroir* is perhaps less important to producers than they initially suggested. The relevance of place must depend on the extent to which the Stilton-makers prioritise the physical. A construction predominantly dependent on human skills would suggest that the milk does not determine the specificity of Stilton. The question then arises as to whether producers primarily employ place as a form of marketing in order to create an appealing 'story' about the 'local'. Consumer researchers Barbara Reed and Christine Bruhn (2003: 79) quote one consumer from their Californian focus group who opined that “in Europe, certain cheeses have to come from cows that are grazing at a certain altitude or higher. That's where the tradition comes in which has lasted for several centuries.” These type of romantic beliefs suggest that place can be successfully enrolled for economic purposes. Stuart Scott (the General Manager of Tuxford & Tebbutt which produces 20 percent of domestic Stilton production and is the largest exporter)²⁵¹ notes that:

²⁵⁰ Alan Whiston (Quenby Hall), 16/02/11.

²⁵¹ Website: www.tuxfordandtebbutt.co.uk

“Some of our customers would like to be able to say which farm it [the milk] came from – not just which county it came from. On some of our cheeses, we do state which county it came from. It's all about the story. It's all about how you're using that information for marketability rather than having a direct impact of the raw material [milk] on the cheese.”²⁵²

The ability to create foods of excellent quality which are nonetheless out-of-place may suggest that a 'Stilton' could be created such that even the most fanatical cheese aficionado would find its taste, smell, and looks indistinguishable from that of an 'authentic' in-place variant. Whether 'Stilton' can be made outside the three counties is irrelevant if it is protected due to its place-based status. Nigel White suggests that:

“Protected Food Names have absolutely nothing to do with quality. They have everything to do with recipe and provenance. Quality is very subjective and there's two aspects: the first is whether I like that quality [such as taste] or whether I don't like that quality. The other aspect is consistency. What the dairies are trying to do is to produce a consistent product. The market actually decides quality – who decides to buy it [Stilton]. If it [the PFN system] was a quality driven scheme rather than a provenance and recipe driven scheme [then] there would be something about maintaining a certain standard of quality: [for example] no bitterness in the cheese or every coat would [have to] be perfect. There's nothing in the [PFN] regulations about that.”²⁵³

The producers believe that the location of manufacture directly impacts the finished product. They did not reference the qualities of land as much as I had expected but the attributes of the three counties were not ignored. Further, it is impossible to segregate types of *terroir* as each will influence the other. However, it is clear that the 'human' aspects of production are considered instrumental in the creation of the finished commodity.

²⁵² Interview with Stuart Scott (General Manager, Tuxford & Tebbutt Creamery), 15 February 2011.

²⁵³ Nigel White (SCMA), 25/01/11.

IV. Cheese-Making Skills as a Justification for Protection.

At this point it appears debatable whether physical *terroir* has a significant impact on the cheese or, at least, in precisely which ways it serves to influence its manufacture. It is clear from the analysis offered by the Stilton-makers that physical *terroir* is imagined to have a substantial impact on the integral nature of Stilton. However, other SCMA members appear to take a contrary position. They assert that Stilton is special because it has always been made by skilled cheese-makers embedded in what has recently become the PDO area. They claim that the longevity of skilled production in-place is what legitimises PDO status. The role that geography has been called upon to play has changed somewhat and is now much less connected with geological or topographical attributes of place but is instead about a historical style of production. The PDO confidently asserts that “the processes by which Stilton cheeses are made have been established over the last 200 years. The knowledge has been handed down through generations of families and since Stilton has only ever been produced in the defined area there is a unique pool of local knowledge and expertise. There is a high degree of skilled labour requiring the unique knowledge of how to produce a consistently high standard of Stilton cheese regardless of seasonal fluctuations in the normal composition of the milk and in ambient temperatures. These skills are unique to the defined area.”²⁵⁴

Two points arise in relation to these claims. First, it appears that “seasonal fluctuations” in the milk must be manipulated by “skilled labour” to produce a “consistently high standard.” The grass will have different levels of nutrients and sugars dependent on the season. Standardisation is therefore invoked as a mechanism by which the variabilities of 'nature' are rendered consistent through human intervention. Second, skilled labour is believed to be unique to the protected area. The SCMA's argument is that these skills are embedded in-place because Stilton has 'always' been produced therein. The PDO unashamedly argues that human *terroir* can be bounded because “Stilton cheeses have always been made in the defined area and indeed the area is famed for its Stilton cheese. Any cheese made under a similar process but in a different geographical area could not bear the name Stilton because the cheese would be different from Stilton cheese.”²⁵⁵ This appears a rather circular form of reasoning. The PDO claims that simply being out-of-place prevents the production of 'authentic' Stilton. This assertion is correct from a legal perspective – and indeed is the

²⁵⁴ PDO Regulation Section 6.

²⁵⁵ PDO Regulation Section 6.

construction on which GIs are founded – although it might be thought surprising if these skills could only be found in the three counties.

I was informed that cheese production employs numerous sophisticated methods which people outside the industry invariably fail to appreciate. This is particularly apt for Stilton which has an elaborate production cycle. An approach which privileges 'human' techniques is far from novel. Richard Blundel and Angela Tregear (2006: 715) – in their study of the gradual commercialisation of English cheese – comment that, by 1850, English cheese-makers had “conducted many experiments involving the precise and systematic control and monitoring of key variables such as temperature and acidity. They also recognized that process innovation must be matched by investments in human capital, promoting the establishment of educational programs for cheese-makers and dairy maids, and calling for improvements in the physical condition of farm dairies to tackle quality problems.” The consistent application of techniques and technology meant that certain procedures were replicated. The need for consistency militates against the variabilities of fat, protein, and salt which derive from a combination of 'natural' conditions such as the weather and 'human' factors like storeroom temperatures. The vibrant production assemblage required to make Stilton²⁵⁶ is detailed by Billy Kevan who reveals how modern-day complexities and cheese-making skills affect the finished product:

“Cheese making is more refined than that [my 'naïve' question that place was predominant]. The way I normally describe it is that for every change you make – there might be 10 changes that happen. In order to change the temperature – there might be 10 things that change the cheese. It's one of these things where you have to understand what change you're making, why, and what's going to happen. If you put more starter [culture] in – it's not just increasing acidification: you also increase the body of the cheese, you change the texture of the cheese, you change the

²⁵⁶ The SCMA website explains that “early each morning fresh pasteurized milk is fed into an open vat to which acid forming bacteria (starter cultures), a milk clotting agent (such as rennet) and *Penicillium roqueforti* (blue mould spores) are added. Once the curds have formed, the whey is removed and the curds allowed to drain overnight. The following morning, the curd is then cut into blocks to allow further drainage before being milled and salted. The moulds are then placed on boards and turned daily to allow natural drainage for five or six days. The cylinders are removed and the coat of each cheese is sealed by smoothing or wrapping to prevent any air entering the inside of the cheese. The cheese is then transferred to the store where temperature and humidity are carefully controlled. Each cheese is turned regularly during this ripening period. At about five weeks, the cheese is forming the traditional Stilton crust and it is then ready for piercing with stainless steel needles. This allows air to enter the body of the cheese and create the magical blue veins associated with Stilton.”

moisture because of the increase of starter. Cheese-making is a complete art.”²⁵⁷

Paxson (2010b: 449) notes that American Cheese Society participants believe that “claims to a taste of *terroir* in the United States are at best untested and at worst disingenuous because the cheeses in question are at most decades old, which is seen as insufficient time for *terroir* – as a nature-culture hybrid on the French model, at least – to develop.” This conception genuflects to the assumption that the French system should define how *terroir* is performed. By comparison, the Stilton producers' *terroir* comprises the three counties but their skills have apparently existed in-place for centuries. Nigel White's perception is therefore that tradition rather than small-scale physical *terroir* primarily justifies protected status:

“How much of the character of Stilton is owed to the milk? During the 20th century – most of the major milk producing areas moved to Holstein-Friesian cows, whereas in some parts of the country, the Gloucester cow was unique to that area, and that Gloucester milk went to make Double and Single Gloucester [cheese], and there was a link between the two, and that's reflected in their PDO [regulation²⁵⁸ – in contrast to the Stilton PDO which does not require a particular breed of cow]. The Milk Marketing Board²⁵⁹ had standardised milk and was paying everybody on the same basis, which encouraged high fat and high protein, and the quality of milk at the time [the 1990s] was pretty high and was pretty homogeneous. That's why the PDO tended to focus on the local knowledge of production.”²⁶⁰

An expansive conceptualisation of *terroir* would encompass the landscape, human skills, and even the ideological input of producers. The 'soul' of the wine-maker, or – for that matter – the farmer, or cheese-maker can be viewed as *terroir* if producers consider it to 'enter' the finished product. *Terroir* in this amplified conception suggests a 'spiritual' component which contributes to the singularity of product when contrasted to mass produced agri-foods. No cheese-maker directly expressed himself in this way although a deep-rooted cultural commitment to Stilton

²⁵⁷ Billy Kevan (Colston Bassett), 22/02/11.

²⁵⁸ Nigel White is not strictly correct. The Single Gloucester Cheese PDO states that the milk “must, whenever possible, come from a herd of Gloucester cows” which suggests that the connection between place and breed is far from essential. Single Gloucester Registration: Dossier Number UK/PDO/0017/0281 Section 'Description of Characteristics'.

²⁵⁹ The Milk Marketing Board purchased milk from farmers which it distributed throughout the dairy sector. It was disbanded in 1994 as part of the market liberalisation process (Blundel, 2002).

²⁶⁰ Nigel White (SCMA), 25/01/11.

production does exist. Colston Bassett Dairy was developed as a farmers' co-operative and is listed in the Register of Friendly Societies,²⁶¹ while the Cropwell Bishop Creamery website explains that the company “has very strong family values and that is why it is very important to us to source milk from small family farms that have been passed from generation to generation very much like Cropwell Bishop itself.”²⁶² This operates as a statement in which the *terroir* of an area incorporates the 'moral values' of the producer. The employment of, for example, organic methods demonstrates 'respect' for the land and thus the physical constitution of the grazing area will be different to that of localities where land is seen in purely economic terms and thus pesticides and fertilizers are freely used.

These place-based constructions of *terroir* (both physical and human) are based on a very particular interpretation of the local history. An accepted history is necessary to determine the boundaries which are fixed in-place at the moment of protection. However, the previously authoritative historical evidence that for decades was used to determine the boundary of Stilton's protected area has recently come under sustained threat.

V. Bygone Boundaries and Present Controversies.

The justification that allows a food name to be protected is that sufficient historical evidence can be mobilised to demonstrate that the food has been produced in a defined area for a significant period. The same evidence is also employed to deny external producers the right to use the name on the grounds that the food was not regularly made in such locations. The history must therefore be correctly argued otherwise legitimate parties are improperly excluded (as was argued in the Melton Mowbray case) and may decide to challenge what they regard as profoundly unfair boundaries. Protected names are valuable economic devices which permit the theoretical extraction of monopoly rents. This is especially true when the name is as famous as Stilton. The need to 'authenticate' local history is particularly pertinent for the Stilton producers because of the startlingly incongruous fact that Stilton cheese cannot legally be made in Stilton village. The PDO restricts production to Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Nottinghamshire but Stilton is in Cambridgeshire (see Figure 5.2). This exclusion can be justified from a legal perspective as the PDO is a re-statement of the CTM which also excluded the village. Stuart Scott asserted that: “I think it's

²⁶¹ A friendly society is an organisation formed for the benefit of its members who share a common purpose.

²⁶² Website: www.cropwellbishopstilton.com/company-information/information-pages/our-farms-2010050462

commonly known that Stilton is not necessarily made in Cambridgeshire” but then added that his belief “might be just because I’m in the dairy industry”²⁶³ while Alan Whiston argued that: “I don’t think any of them [consumers] really care about it. There might be a few hard-core traditionalists. It’s not going to make the front page of the *News of the World*.”²⁶⁴ This exclusion is, however, more difficult to legitimise on ‘cultural’ grounds because it is ‘common sense’ to assume that Stilton is either made in the village or could be if so desired. Nigel White explains:

“I think people are surprised [that Stilton cheese cannot legally be made in Stilton] until you explain the history to them, and it’s probably the only Protected Food Name when you’ve got a geographical place name where the name has no relation to where the product is made. You’ve got Whitstable Oysters, Orkney Lamb, all of the [protected] cheeses which tend to be named after their towns or regions, and Stilton is the exception. It [this issue] goes back to the fact that nobody knows where it [Stilton] was originally produced – the mystique.”²⁶⁵

The reason why potential cheese-makers in Stilton village cannot create genuine ‘Stilton’ illustrates an issue which is central to each PFN. This is the political use of history to determine the current geographical boundaries at the time of protection. It is helpful to analyse the ongoing disagreement between the SCMA and the newly-formed Stilton village campaign group in order to highlight this debate. I first detail how the ‘orthodox’ history of Stilton created the current boundaries and then reveal the recent ‘heterodox’ approach whose practitioners claim to have discovered vital new historical documentation that apparently undermines the legitimacy of these borders. It is the supposedly objective discourse that forms the PDO – historical opinions made legal and exclusionary – that the campaign group wants to destabilise through the provision of an alternative history. This ‘story’ will demonstrate how the supposed ‘facts’ that permit GIs to be protected can be challenged by highly motivated actors who are able to develop their own history which targets the accepted narrative.

The conventional approach is encapsulated in *The History of Stilton Cheese* (2005b) written by Trevor Hickman. We shall soon discover that this history is far from universally accepted. Hickman explains that the village of Stilton, located about 70 miles from London, was conveniently positioned on the Great North Road. By 1690,

²⁶³ Stuart Scott (Tuxford & Tebbutt), 15/02/11.

²⁶⁴ Alan Whiston (Quenby Hall), 16/02/11.

²⁶⁵ Nigel White (SCMA), 25/01/11.

it was possible to travel from Edinburgh to London in two days and three nights. The 18th and early- to mid-19th century traffic meandering along this ancient route enabled Stilton to soon become a powerful trading centre where weary travellers rested and sought supplies. Milk was a perishable commodity and was converted into butter or cheese. These cheeses were sold from four main Stilton hostelrys: The Blue Bell²⁶⁶ (later The Bell), The Angel, The Talbot, and the Woolpack (Hickman, 2005b: 7-9, 26, 38) (see Plate 5.4). Hickman, more controversially, states that from around 1740, all cheese sold in Stilton was imported from villages in Leicestershire as indigenous cheese-making had fallen into desuetude. He asserts in an earlier pamphlet (2004: 4) that “a blue-veined cream cheese had been made in the village of Wymondham [in Leicestershire] by generations of farmers' wives, from the 1500s onwards.” Hickman believes that it was cheese from this area that was imported into Stilton village. The disagreement between the SCMA and the village campaigners is predicated on this very matter: whether Stilton village produced or merely traded cheese. This distinction is crucial because the boundaries of protected names should be based on where the foods were historically created rather than sold. If location of sale was pre-eminent then protection could be claimed for any product that at some point in 'recent' history had been sold from inside some type of political boundary thereby eroding the argument that protected foods must possess tradition-in-place.

The orthodox history of Stilton centres on two exceptional characters. Cooper Thornhill (c. 1705-1759) was landlord of the Bell Inn. In 1745 he rode 213 miles in 12 hours and 15 minutes (thereby winning a 500 guinea bet); a feat immortalised in poetic form in *The Stilton Hero*.²⁶⁷ Thornhill was a shrewd businessman who realised that the increasing coach trade could make him wealthy. Hickman asserts that he contracted with our second legendary figure – a Mrs Frances Pawlett (1720-1808)²⁶⁸ – to provide the finest cheeses to his demanding clients. It is believed that Pawlett selected the best Leicestershire cheeses and sold them to Thornhill. Hickman (2009: 97) credits her with developing the technique of hand-crumbling, packing the curd into a mould with holes poked through to develop a coarse crust, and of piercing the cheese with needles to speed up the blue moulding process. He asserts that Pawlett developed the first ever English cheese co-operative which ensured consistency, quality, and standardisation of shape and weight. It is unclear whether Pawlett was an 'inventor' or merely a modifier

²⁶⁶ The blue – according to Hickman (2006) – refers to bluebells which adorned the Inn in the 14th century and celebrated the arrival of spring.

²⁶⁷ “And 'spight of every Storm that blow'd / Across the watry World he rode / And did a thousand Feats beside / That Mortal never did nor try'd / Mere Trifles all! And Children's Play! / To the great Hero of today! / Immortal Thornhill! Let his Name / Shine foremost in the Rolls of Fame.”

²⁶⁸ Pawlett's longevity possibly accounts for the less than charitable inscription on her gravestone: “Ready to Die”. Her late husband, William, by comparison, received the rather more benign: “A Charitable Man”.

Plate 5.4: The Bell Inn, Stilton.



of inconsistently produced Leicestershire cheeses. The extent to which she manipulated 'prior art' is still unknown. Hickman, however, regards her and Thornhill to be the founders of the Stilton industry.

The ability to commercialise the cheese resulted from two entwined factors. The first element was the village's strategic location on the Great North Road. The second issue was the standardisation procedure which created a regular product. These developments are described by Blundel and Tregear (2006: 712) who argue that Stilton is “shrouded in its own creation myth [but that] the origins of this variety display some characteristic features of commercialization, including strategic location – the village of Stilton was a stopping point on the main overland route between London and the North – and the intervention of an entrepreneurial figure who contributed to its development as a premium variety.” They do not name this person but it must be Thornhill. They assert (2006: 712) that “the composition of the product was standardized to some degree, and its reputation was actively developed in an effort to meet the demands of this new market segment. By the mid-19th century, demand for Stilton was being satisfied by cheese-makers from adjacent counties.” The cheese was

not the only device that was becoming standardised. The history of Stilton was also progressively being codified to generate a singular and seemingly incontestable narrative. This systematisation occurred even though – as Nigel White reminds us – this history is often ambiguous:

“There was a great mystique about how Stilton was made – even if you go back far enough [in time] to where it was made. It was a very well kept secret that the cheese that Cooper Thornhill sold [in the village] actually came from Leicestershire. The cheese that was produced in the village of Stilton in the early part of the 18th century – production of which probably stopped by around 1750 – but may have gone on in a very small craft way beyond that [date]. All of the texts seem to point to the fact that, by 1750, virtually everything that Cooper Thornhill was selling [in Stilton village] came from Leicestershire. They [local Stilton villagers] have not produced any cheese since [then] so it's not as though it's [Stilton village] a cheese-making area. It all added to this mystery that has built up around the product and that it appears to be a very different cheese from that available elsewhere in the country. It was a very high quality cheese. It was a cream cheese so they actually added cream to the milk. It was probably the most expensive cheese made in this country for centuries. It had that cachet and this secrecy.”²⁶⁹

The history of Stilton became conventionalised through a negotiated process in which certain readings of history became privileged (cheeses from Leicestershire were imported into the village) while other perspectives were neglected or relegated into insignificance (the possibility of continuing cheese production in the village). The history is legally codified by the PDO regulation which unambiguously states that Stilton “has been made in the three counties of Leicestershire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire for generations. The cheese became known as Stilton because it was at the Bell Inn in this village that the cheese was first sold to the public. Although the cheese was sold in Stilton, it is certain that it was made in Leicestershire.”²⁷⁰ The SCMA do not dispute that 18th century Stilton village produced some cheese although they claim that it had little or nothing in common with today's Stilton. Hickman (2005: 7) rhetorically asks: “at what point in time was a blue-veined cream cheese developed that

²⁶⁹ Nigel White (SCMA), 26/01/11.

²⁷⁰ PDO Regulation Section 4.

could be recognised as Stilton cheese, and above all where was it developed?" He (2005: 9) continues: "like so many other types of food and commodities, Stilton developed – it was not invented, it did not appear overnight." A food or drink – even those made in geographically specific locations – must have had some level of plasticity over time in terms of its ingredients and methods of production. The SCMA cannot claim that today's Stilton is identical to that from Leicestershire from two centuries prior as small-scale localised production has transmuted into commercial success. What the PDO does is to promote the apparently immemorial and essential features of Stilton that transcend the specifics (which are anyhow vague) of the location where historical production existed. Nigel White provides his interpretation of Stilton's debated history:

"There was a small amount of cheese made in the village of Stilton in the early part of the 18th century. It's been inferred that [according to a recently-discovered recipe] it was being used in the village of Stilton and it may well have been. That recipe was for a pressed cooked²⁷¹ cream cheese. Pressed to get the whey out and control the moisture, cooked because – rather than just letting the curds and the whey stand – you cut and then drain and then let them stand again. Stilton [today] is not cooked, it's not pressed, it's not cream cheese. The milk that's been produced since the mid-1980s has typically been around about four percent fat and 3.3 percent protein. I would guess that the diets the cows would have had going back into the 18th, 19th, and even the early 20th centuries – milk would have been somewhere between three percent and 3.5 percent fat and protein levels would have been below three percent. You've got a totally different raw material now."²⁷²

White therefore suggests that there is substantial ambiguity about whether the cheese produced in the village has any tangible connection to the way that Stilton is currently manifested. He acknowledges there are (and may always be) a number of claims and counter-claims made about the history of Stilton (which include the locations from which it was created) that cannot and may never be resolved to the satisfaction of all parties. The contested history which surrounds the genesis of Stilton does not appear to result from the deliberate sanitisation of an inconvenient past but

²⁷¹ A cheese is 'cooked' when the curds are heated in a vat or scalded with hot water which reduces their moisture level and helps preservation.

²⁷² Nigel White (SCMA), 26/01/11.

instead derives from ignorance as there is no reason why the intricacies of Stilton production from three centuries past would have been diligently recorded and conserved. Nigel White resolves this situation – to his and the SCMA's satisfaction at least – by using the CTM of 1966 to permanently sunder contested historical opinions and the modern era of Stilton. He argues that:

“There may have been some omissions in the way that people describe the history, but the major texts always attributed the recipe and the original supply to Frances Pawlett in the village of Wymondham [in Leicestershire]. The book is still open as far as I'm concerned because there are so many gaps in the knowledge. In terms of the [Certification] Trademark – we're [the SCMA] not that concerned because the Trademark drew a line and said: 'Forget what's happened before – there is a Trademark in place, and it says that from now on it [Stilton] can only be made in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire.' It just so happened that [when the campaign to obtain the CTM began] there was a recipe which everybody [in the SCMA] agreed on and said: 'That's what we're going to go forward with'.”²⁷³

The official history of Stilton is encapsulated in the CTM and PDO regulations. This mainstream history is taken-for-granted by Stilton producers, cheese consumers, food commentators, and government officials. The PDO is a legal document which can be appealed to in times of dispute. The rules and language contained therein have become naturalised over time. Yet, more pertinently, these regulations are themselves the result of other previous texts like recipes which, in turn, were reliant upon earlier projects still perhaps unknown. At a certain point, actors both inside and outside the Stilton network came to 'understand' that Stilton did not hail from the village. The Stilton boundaries are the result of this perception.

However, in 2011, this history and, by extension, the boundaries were challenged. Stilton resident Richard Landy²⁷⁴ – an amateur historian and potter – believes that Stilton village should rightfully be considered the 'birthplace' of the cheese and has demanded the PDO be amended to include the village within the legal production area. Landy justifies his claim by appealing to a particular interpretation of the local history. The majority of laws and regulations are not created or modified by

²⁷³ Nigel White (SCMA), 26/01/11.

²⁷⁴ Website: www.originalstiltoncheese.com

some lofty appeal to objective, impartial, and value-free evidence but rather depend on the ability of an individual, organisation, or political party to mobilise forces in a way that generates a greater level of support than that of their adversaries. To that end Landy is supported by Shailesh Vara MP (North West Cambridgeshire) who is “delighted – it is only right that the village should be allowed to produce the famous cheese which originated here. This is part of our local heritage and worth fighting for.”²⁷⁵ Landy's objections to the boundaries began in 2008 when he started to trawl through Google Books²⁷⁶ to obtain early- and mid-18th century references to the genesis of Stilton. He collated this research in a paper entitled *The Origins of Stilton* (2010) which was privately circulated to all SCMA members in an unsuccessful attempt to modify their belief that the village had been legitimately excluded. Richard Landy describes how his crusade for geographical 'justice' started:

“I was initially researching Cooper Thornhill. His grave is in Stilton Churchyard but it was completely obscured [by foliage]. I suggested to the parish council that 2009 – being the 250th anniversary of his death – could be an ideal opportunity to restore his grave [see Plate 5.5]. It was while I was researching Cooper Thornhill that I stumbled across this Richard Bradley recipe [the earliest known recipe of a cheese from Stilton village] and reference to Stilton being made in Stilton [village]. At the time I thought: this [the recipe] was new information but I've since found out that this information has been published several times in recent history.²⁷⁷ This kind of information has bubbled up to the surface and then sunk below sight again on a number of occasions. It's quite amazing that nobody has actually sat up and said: 'This information clearly shows that the cheese originated in Stilton'. ”²⁷⁸

Landy invokes Daniel Defoe's *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain Divided into Circuits or Journies* as support for his argument that the village inhabitants created the cheese. Defoe visited Stilton multiple times in the 1690s and 1700s and comments in his Index that Stilton was “a town Famous for cheese.” Foods

²⁷⁵ Website: www.stilton.org/cam_stilton_cheese.html

²⁷⁶ Google has digitised millions of books of which some date back hundreds of years. This means that amateur historians like Landy now have a free and accessible way to peruse works that would once have required multiple trips to antiquarian bookshops. Further, Google constantly adds new books and thus a new search may uncover recently-appended material.

²⁷⁷ Bradley's *The Country Housewife and Lady's Director* was re-published by Prospect Books in 1980. Amazon.co.uk reveals multiple more recent re-prints.

²⁷⁸ Interview with Richard Landy (Stilton campaign), 20 May 2011.

Plate 5.5: Cooper Thornhill's restored grave at St. Mary Magdalene Church in Stilton.



and drinks achieve 'fame' over time and thus Defoe's quote implies that Stilton must have been appreciated from at least the latter part of the 17th century. Defoe was an inveterate note-maker who recorded that Stilton village possessed a considerable number of cattle. He did not, however, indicate that Leicestershire was also blessed with an abundance of ruminants. This omission allows Landy (2010: 4-5) to claim that cheese-making was non-existent in Leicestershire and therefore its population could not have much cheese. Nigel White accepts that the cheese produced in Stilton village during the first two or three decades of the 18th century must have been of exceptional quality although he notes that it is still unclear why the cheese was famous:

“The real mystery is that the early references in the 1720s talk about the recently famous Stilton cheese which suggests that it probably wasn't known until about the turn of the 18th century. We [the SCMA] are pretty sure that the cheese made in the village of Stilton was somehow a special cheese, but why was it famous? Was it simply because it was a cream cheese when everybody else was selling cheeses that were made from whole

milk, but this was an exceptional one because of its very creamy texture, or was it because it went blue naturally?”²⁷⁹

Cooper Thornhill and Frances Pawlett were Hickman's heroes and it is therefore only fitting that Landy has discovered his own 'big cheese': a Richard Bradley – the first Professor of Botany at the University of Cambridge. Landy (2010: 7-8)²⁸⁰ argues that John Warner (a horticulturist from Kent) provided Bradley with the Stilton recipe in 1721 or 1722 which was published in Bradley's 1726 tome, *A General Treatise of Husbandry and Gardening Containing a New System of Vegetation With Many Observations and Experiments*. The same recipe was repeated in 1727 in *The Country Housewife and Lady's Director, in the Management of a House, and Delights and Profits of a Farm*. Bradley devotes almost four pages to Stilton in the 1732 publication, *The Gentleman and Farmers Guide for the Increase and Improvement of Cattle*. Chapter III contains a section entitled “Observations relating to the making of the famous Stilton-Cheefes.” He writes (1732: 141) that “The Cheefe of *Stilton*, which has been famous for many Years, and has been difficult to make rightly, notwithstanding there have been the best Receipts [recipes] for it, in the Families that have attempted it, gives me Occasion of mentioning it more particularly than I have done in any other of my Works.” Bradley's recipe describes how to use the milk, cream, water, and rennet. He explains how the curd should be raised and the whey boiled. Yet he (1732: 143) is irritated because “it is not every where in *Stilton* that this Cheefe is in Perfection, or made agreeably to the foregoing Original Receipt: I have only found it there to anfer my Expectation at the Sign of the *Bell* [Inn] where the true Method of making it is followed.”²⁸¹ It is important to note that Bradley indicates that this cheese – whatever relation it may or may not bear to modern Stilton – is made throughout the village to the extent that he is aware that some establishments produce a more agreeable variety than others. He (1732: 143) describes Stilton as “so soft, that when we cut it at a year old, or about the *Chriftnas* next after the making one may spread it upon Bread like Butter.” This quote is used by Landy to derail a previous objection made by Hickman: that the cheese Bradley regards was pressed and so must have had a hard constitution but modern Stilton is unpressed and should be spreadable.²⁸² The quote suggests that the Bradley Stilton was a soft cheese even though it was pressed. This enables Landy to

²⁷⁹ Nigel White (SCMA), 26/01/11.

²⁸⁰ Landy's paper is available at: www.originalstiltoncheese.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/landy-the-origins-of-stilton.pdf

²⁸¹ Bradley would have been even more irked to learn that, almost three centuries later, Hickman (2009: 84) brands the Bradley original “an inferior cheese to the type that was eventually developed by Cooper Thornhill with the help of Frances Pawlett.” Worse still, the future landlady of the Bell Inn was even more contemptuous of native Stilton. Miss Worthington's denigration was so intense that she displayed a sign which boasted that her cheese was “made in Leicestershire, the home of true Stilton cheese.”

²⁸² New Evidence Over Stilton Origin, *BBC*, 29 January 2009.

argue that not only was Stilton village 'first' to make the cheese but that it must have been similar to contemporary Stilton.

Landy asserts that the compendium of Bradley references from the 1720s and 1730s means that the cheese must have originated in Stilton village from as early as the 1680s. He claims that, for reasons which are and may always be uncertain, Stilton, in the 1790s, became popularly understood as a Leicestershire cheese. Official reports for the Board of Agriculture in the early 19th century stated that Stilton was created in Leicestershire. The statement that Stilton hails from Leicestershire was accepted until very recently. The few consumers sufficiently interested in the historical geography of the village to do some form of research would almost certainly not reconnoitre the debate from its conception but instead would accept the generally understood theory depicted by the official record. Landy perceives the orthodox history to be so powerful that even respected food writers have fallen for its pungent charms. Laura Mason²⁸³ (1999: 135) writes that “unlike other British territorial cheeses, it [Stilton] was named for the place where it was sold, rather than the area where it was made.” More ambiguously, David Taylor (1987: 55) – in his investigation of the 19th century English dairy industry – describes Stilton as a “local cheese” which was “manufactured around Melton Mowbray and in parts of Rutland and Huntingdonshire” which both adheres to the conventional history while simultaneously allows for the continuation of production in and around the more general Stilton area. Landy is aware that the conventional perspective convincingly justifies the village's exclusion. He must therefore not only provide powerful and unimpeachable empirical evidence that Stilton village was the original centre of production but also needs to create a debate to generate support for his cause.

Landy argues that cheese from Stilton village and Leicestershire were of the same type and further claims that any differences between these cheeses would have been well documented. He asserts that this is not the case. He also states that imports of cheese into Stilton during the period when Pawlett was allegedly supplying Thornhill have been dramatically overstated. He references a John Nichols who wrote that only three people in Leicestershire in 1756 were making the cheese:

“We can take that [Nichols' text] to mean that in 1756 – if there were only three people in Leicestershire making the cheese – it's not that hundreds of cheeses were being brought into the village

²⁸³ Mason's works include *From Bath Chaps to Bara Brith: The Taste of South West Britain*, *From Norfolk Knobs to Fidget Pie: Food from the Heart of England and East Anglia*, and *From Petticoat Tails to Arbroath Smokies: Traditional Foods of Scotland*.

every week. If you look at the recipes and the Stilton plan [the system] – most Stilton dairies would have had between 12 and 20 cows. The Stilton plan was that you made a cheese every morning. That's one cheese a day. On a weekly delivery, you could have 21 [three people making seven each week] cheeses, which is a far cry from having them stacked up on both sides of the road [in Stilton village], and that assumes that every ounce of cheese [made in Leicestershire] was going to Stilton, and nothing was being sold locally [in Leicestershire].”²⁸⁴

It is possible to impugn Landy's argument that the village cheese is the direct precursor to today's Stilton as the Bradley recipe does not refer to a blue-veined cheese. Landy's response is to argue that there is also no evidence that the cheese sold through the apparent association between Thornhill and Pawlett was blue-veined. He is also sceptical that reports of the interaction between these supposed pioneers are accurate and believes that it was four decades after their so-called partnership that their relationship was even recorded. This perspective rejects the mythology which surrounds the formation of Stilton. The very foundation of Stilton's history is brought into disrepute if this relationship did not occur. It would be troublesome for the SCMA should the collaboration between Pawlett and Thornhill be proven fictitious. Richard Landy argues that:

“The Stilton Cheesemakers['] [Association] offer very little in the way of corroborative evidence. Everything they base their facts on is based on information that's published from 1790 onwards. Frances Pawlett is not mentioned in the literature prior to 1790. It's only John Nichols [author of the *History and Antiquities of the Country of Leicestershire* published in 1793] and Richard Parkinson [author of *A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Huntingdon*²⁸⁵ published in 1811] who begin talking about Frances Pawlett close to her death [in 1808]. There's no contemporary evidence to say that Stilton originated in Leicestershire.”²⁸⁶

Landy has invested considerable time in uncovering an alternative perspective of Stilton's early 18th century history. He constantly searches Google Books for new

²⁸⁴ Richard Landy (Stilton campaign), 20/05/11.

²⁸⁵ The *General Views* were commissioned by the Board of Agriculture to determine the national agricultural situation.

²⁸⁶ Richard Landy (Stilton campaign), 20/05/11.

references and supplements these investigations with purchases of copyright-free texts from the relevant era. But what is his motivation other than intellectual gratification? How does he imagine that Stilton village could benefit if the boundaries were modified? The situation at this point becomes somewhat more vague. I met Landy in May 2011 and – at this point – he told me that no cheese-maker wanted to open a 'Stilton' factory in the village. However, by December 2011, Landy had waited long enough and decided to personally enter the cheese-making business in conjunction with the owner of the Bell Inn.²⁸⁷ The resultant cheese was known as Blue Bell.²⁸⁸ Landy is eager for the village to acquire the supposed economic and cultural benefits of inclusion in the protected area although he recognises that these may take years or decades to fructify:

“I think it [the potential inclusion of the village in the PDO] offers the opportunity to make Stilton Cheese – if it just offers the potential for future generations to be able to make Stilton Cheese – to bring Stilton Cheese production back into the village, [then] it's not massively important that it [the cheese] be made immediately, but just setting the record straight²⁸⁹ [about the 'birthplace' of Stilton], and having the potential to make Stilton Cheese – it's a legacy for future generations.”²⁹⁰

The justification for contesting the PDO boundaries is – similar to the Melton Mowbray case – dependent on conflicting readings of the local history. However, there are three major differences between these studies. First, the MMPPA were attempting to create new boundaries but the SCMA are resisting the modification of boundaries that have existed since the CTM of 1966. Second, the MMPPA were trying to modify boundaries that were being debated while the Stilton campaign is trying to expand boundaries that already exist. Third, the MMPPA needed to create a history to justify their boundaries whereas the campaign group are targeting the accepted history. The negotiation into being of any history is central to all GIs but is particularly relevant for producers who are applying for protected status and thus require a clear and justifiable historical foundation.

The Stilton village campaign is not the only threat to the established order. The actors in an entirely different network are eager to change the legal requirement that Stilton be made with pasteurised milk. The PDO regulates considerably more than the

²⁸⁷ Does Something Smell in Stilton?, *The Times*, 15 December 2011.

²⁸⁸ Stilton's Coming Home (But Don't Call it That), *Peterborough Today*, 15 December 2011.

²⁸⁹ The front page of the October 2009 issue of the Stilton Community Association Newsletter (SCAN) is emblazoned with the headline: “Stilton Cheese is Ours!”

²⁹⁰ Richard Landy (Stilton campaign), 20/05/11.

geography of Stilton. It additionally controls the method of production which constitutes this cheese. I now discuss why 'authentic' Stilton must be pasteurised and analyse the motivations and tactics of this second adversary.

VI. The Protected Designation of Origin as a Safety Mechanism.

Regulation 2081/92 does not mention food safety. Yet the Stilton PDO states that only pasteurised milk is acceptable. It is impossible – indeed unlawful – to retail an unpasteurised cheese called 'Stilton' even if it was created in strict compliance with all other PDO requirements. The regulations for the other 12 protected cheeses (see Table 5.2) provide a comparative scope. These regulations indicate that it is not unusual to pasteurise. The more pertinent question is whether the requirement should be modified upon request. It is important to appreciate that Stilton is the most commercial of all British protected cheeses. It may be that there is no interest in creating, for example, an unpasteurised Staffordshire Cheese which is only available from local retailers and farm shops.²⁹¹ Stuart Scott indicates that the PDO makes it difficult for producers located in 'incorrect' places, who 'wrongly' make the cheese (irrespective of location), and who refuse to pasteurise, to challenge the establishment:

“It [the PDO] gives us [current Stilton makers] some security. There are currently six [now five]²⁹² organisations who are producing Stilton. There could be another six starting tomorrow. But they would have to comply with the PDO and the location of the milk. It does give you [the producer] some security in that it's a little more difficult to set something up [a dairy] and make Stilton and get it out to the market-place.”²⁹³

Potential Stilton-makers would have to prove that they would be PDO compliant. The most interesting component of this 'security' regime is that all producers must use pasteurised milk. This situation exists because of a *Listeria* outbreak which occurred between November 1988 and January 1989 which was reported to derive from unpasteurised Colston Bassett Stilton. Epidemiologists H. C. F. Maguire *et al.* (1991) report that 155 people suffered symptoms of gastrointestinal illness. *Listeria* is particularly dangerous to newborn babies and the elderly and the National Health Service (NHS) advises pregnant women to avoid all unpasteurised foods and not even to consume soft mould-ripened pasteurised cheeses like Brie,

²⁹¹ Website: www.britishcheese.com/othercheese/british_protected_name_cheeses-89

²⁹² Quenby Hall Dairy production terminated after the date of this interview.

²⁹³ Stuart Scott (Tuxford & Tebbutt), 15/02/11.

Table 5.2: Pasteurisation requirements for protected British cheeses.²⁹⁴

Name of Cheese	Pasteurisation Requirement
Beacon Fell Traditional Lancaster Cheese	Not specified
Bonchester Cheese	Unpasteurised
Buxton Blue Cheese	Pasteurised
Dorset Blue Cheese	Unpasteurised
Dovedale Cheese	Not specified
Exmoor Blue Cheese	Unpasteurised
Single Gloucester Cheese	Pasteurised or Unpasteurised
Staffordshire Cheese	Pasteurised
Swaledale Cheese	Not specified
Swaledale Ewes Cheese	Not specified
Teviotdale Cheese	Unpasteurised
West Country Farmhouse Cheddar Cheese	Pasteurised or Unpasteurised

Camembert, Gorgonzola, Roquefort, and Stilton.²⁹⁵ There is some debate about whether raw milk from Colston Bassett should be blamed for the *Listeria* but what matters in such circumstances is not necessarily the 'truth' – a laudable concept but one that can always be subject to challenge and may never be determined with any certainty – but the public understanding which, in this case, blamed raw milk Stilton. What matters is how consumers digest the information they receive. If they believe that the concern is 'real' then producers will suffer due to consumer boycotts. All Stilton manufacturers were economically harmed by the 1988 outbreak as they were members of the 'club' although only one dairy was considered responsible. Billy Kevan recalls the unpalatable situation in early 1989:

“The whole reason it [pasteurisation] came about – I was working in the Stilton industry when everything happened to make it go pasteurised. I remember seeing tractor loads of Stilton cheese coming to be destroyed because of a so-called food scare and it damaged the image of Stilton.”²⁹⁶

²⁹⁴ Beacon Fell Traditional Lancashire Cheese Registration: Dossier Number UK/PDO/0017/0280, Bonchester Cheese Registration: Dossier Number UK/PDO/0017/0284, Buxton Blue Cheese Registration: Dossier Number UK/PDO/0017/0287, Dorset Blue Cheese Registration: Dossier Number UK/PGI/0005/0002, Dovedale Cheese Registration: Dossier Number UK/PDO/0017/0300, Exmoor Blue Cheese Registration: Dossier Number UK/PGI/0005/0001, Single Gloucester Cheese Registration: Dossier Number UK/PDO/0017/0281, Staffordshire Cheese Registration: Dossier Number UK/PDO/0005/0354, Swaledale Cheese and Swaledale Ewes Cheese Registration: Dossier Number UK/PDO/0017/0282, Teviotdale Cheese Registration: Dossier Number UK/PGI/0017/0285, and West Country Farmhouse Cheddar Cheese Registration: Dossier Number UK/PDO/0017/0279.

²⁹⁵ Website: www.nhs.uk/Planners/pregnancyareplanner/Pages/Carewithfood.aspx

²⁹⁶ Billy Kevan (Colston Bassett), 22/02/11.

The SCMA consider unpasteurised milk to be dangerous because of the potential for bacterial infection which they argue would be inhibited by pasteurisation (Little and de Louvois, 1999; Yilmaz *et al.*, 2009). Milk is an excellent vehicle for bacterial growth because it is nutrient-rich and maintains a neutral pH. The main agents of infection are *Escherichia coli* (*E. coli*), *Listeria*, *Salmonella*, and *Staphylococcus*. Health practitioners firmly state that unpasteurised milk should be prohibited in any dairy product (Cifelli *et al.*, 2010). Pasteurisation involves heating raw milk for a defined time at a specified temperature. Food safety experts Jeffrey LeJeune and Paivi Rajala-Schultz (2009) suggest heating raw milk for 15 seconds at 75°C, one second at 89°C, or for 0.1 second at 94°C. Staffordshire Cheese, for example, is heated at 72-75.5°C for 15 to 20 seconds.²⁹⁷ Stilton is heated at 71.7°C for 15 seconds.²⁹⁸

There are several reasons why the creation of an unpasteurised 'Stilton' would cause consternation to Stilton-makers and DEFRA officials alike. The official medical advice is to avoid raw dairy products. The UK has been subject to a series of harmful food scares. The specific rationale for Stilton pasteurisation was the *Listeria* outbreak. The Stilton-makers consider the use of unpasteurised milk to be a potentially foolhardy endeavour. It was therefore an unwelcome surprise when the SCMA learned in 2006 that a blue-veined, creamy, unpressed cheese from the Welbeck Estate in Nottinghamshire provocatively entitled 'Stichelton',²⁹⁹ (the original name for Stilton inscribed in the Domesday Book) was being negotiated into existence. I now disclose the story of Stichelton in order to situate the second challenge to the PDO. The participants are Joe Schneider (the cheese-maker) and Randolph Hodgson (the owner of the cheese boutique Neal's Yard Dairy).³⁰⁰ Joe Schneider explains how Hodgson's long-considered plan to re-create unpasteurised 'Stilton' gradually entered material reality:

“You know what Neal's Yard Dairy does? They sell usually³⁰¹ farmhouse British, usually raw milk cheeses, and most of us [in the trade] say that raw milk offers you more complexity of flavour, more authentic flavours, better textures, and longer finishes. It was just after Christmas [1988] – all the cheese

²⁹⁷ Staffordshire Cheese Registration: Dossier Number UK/PDO/0005/0354 Section 4.5.

²⁹⁸ Nigel White (e-mail 06/12/11).

²⁹⁹ Website: www.stichelton.co.uk

³⁰⁰ Neal's Yard Dairy is the best known cheese boutique in London and retails a wide variety of specialist cheeses.

³⁰¹ The three current exceptions are Barrel Aged Greek Feta, Donge Brie De Meaux, and Parmigiano Reggiano.

[Stilton] was recalled. When the new cheese from Colston Bassett came out – it [Stilton] was pasteurised. Over the years the cheese got really, really, good but if you ask people who have that taste memory like Randolph [Hodgson], it [the pasteurised Stilton] never reached that pinnacle of quality again. He [Hodgson] remembered how good it was – he wanted his customers to have it. Both of us think: it's the right thing that the British public owns Stilton³⁰² and, if you want to, you ought to be able to enjoy it in its traditional [unpasteurised] version. That's when he [Hodgson] approached me. For me, it was the holy grail of cheese making to bring this thing [raw milk 'Stilton'] back. He said: 'I want to make a raw milk 'Stilton' and it should fit the parameters of the PDO as closely as possible with this one glaring exception.' It had to be in one of the three counties. We get into difficulties if we say it out loud but we were trying to make a raw milk 'Stilton'.³⁰³ We appraised them [the SCMA] of everything we were doing: 'We don't want to cross your boundaries, so what do we have to avoid' and they told us: 'You cannot say Stilton, you cannot say Stilton-like.' We were trying to be cooperative so our aim was to show them [the SCMA] that they should be proud to include it [Stichelton] in the Stilton PDO because of its quality. Our viewpoint was: 'If we make a really good raw milk 'Stilton' – won't that help you? Won't that be a feather in your cap?'"³⁰⁴

Schneider's concern is to recalibrate the cheese's status by modifying its inputs. The 'correct' starter³⁰⁵ helps to provide the flavour profile. The Stichelton starter is known as MT36³⁰⁶ and was formerly used in unpasteurised Colston Bassett Stilton. The employment of a traditional starter suggests that Schneider and Hodgson did not want

³⁰² He means that 'Stilton' is a PFN and hence allocated by the state to all producers who are willing to comply with the PDO.

³⁰³ These "difficulties" include a letter (16 July 2009) from Simon Johnson (DEFRA) to Joe Schneider (Stichelton) warning him that DEFRA has "become increasingly aware of the number of media articles [...] which have drawn a link between Stilton cheese and Stichelton cheese [and] some of these appear to contravene the protection afforded to Stilton by the EU [PDO] legislation", which according to Regulation 2081/92 Article 13 Paragraph 1b, prohibits "any misuse, imitation or evocation, even if the true origin of the product is indicated or if the protected name is translated or accompanied by an expression such as 'style', 'type', 'method', 'as produced in', 'imitation' or similar."

³⁰⁴ Interview with Joe Schneider (Stichelton), 27 May 2011.

³⁰⁵ The September 2011 issue of the Specialist Cheesemakers Association (SCA) newsletter details 18 general types of starter. Blue Stilton is described as a "internal mould-ripened" cheese (like Danish Blue, Gorgonzola, and Roquefort) which uses a *Penicillium roquerforti* starter.

³⁰⁶ The 'MT' stands for 'Maryland Traditional' with 'Maryland' being the name of the farm where the Barber cheese-making family resides. The '36' simply means that 35 MT starters had already been created.

to develop a 'new' cheese but instead were imagining what they considered the historical unpasteurised apogee of perfection. Joe Schneider explains the importance of the MT36:

“Traditionally – before starters became commercialised – you would go to the farm that was making the best cheese and get some of their starter. What happened with the MT36 – that was the starter that they [Colston Bassett] were making this glorious unpasteurised version [of Stilton] with. When they switched to pasteurisation – the recipe had to change – that starter was no longer suitable. It was going to become extinct and [a Neal's Yard Dairy employee] saved a pot of it, gave it to a large cheddar making company [called Barber's] that propagates their own starters, and they've kept it alive.³⁰⁷ With the MT36 – it's a very complex starter that has lots of different lactic acid bacteria. It [the MT36] has elements of the flavour profile that the Colston Bassett had 20 years ago.”³⁰⁸

Another aspect which singularises Stichelton from Stilton is Schneider's use of animal rennet. Rennet includes enzymes that originate in the stomach walls of calves. The sliced stomachs are placed into salted water which is filtered. This process leaves the rennet which coagulates the milk and separates the solid curds from the liquid whey. Food marketing researchers Beata Kupiec and Brian Revell (1998: 236) – in their analysis of speciality cheeses – note that “distinctive features can be created in speciality products through their physical, sensory, and aesthetic attributes such as raw material quality, the technology used, presentation and packaging, organoleptic properties, identification and association of geographic origin with product image, and by selection of distribution channels.” The use of unpasteurised milk and non-vegetarian rennet develops a rarefied image. The decline of animal rennet in Stilton production coincided with the popularity of vegetarianism. All Stilton producers now employ vegetarian rennet which derives from plants with coagulating properties like thistle.³⁰⁹ Schneider is not excited by the use of vegetarian rennet:

“For me – real cheese-making takes real rennet. Anything else is a facsimile and you tend to get bitter flavours from vegetarian rennet. It doesn't have the same sweetness and there are

³⁰⁷ Barber's maintained the starter's existence as they sold it to a few farmhouse cheese companies.

³⁰⁸ Joe Schneider (Stichelton), 27/05/11.

³⁰⁹ A very occasional exception is Cropwell Bishop whose website advertises “a traditional rennet (non-vegetarian) Stilton” (sold by Waitrose).

textural differences in the cheese. You're getting better flavour, better textures [when using animal rennet]. That raw material – the milk, it feels more expressive. I can work with that in a more expressive way than I could with a pasteurised version. I want to achieve the flavour profile but also to enjoy working with milk which I have a strong connection with.”³¹⁰

Schneider thinks that it is unnecessary to obligate the pasteurisation of Stilton. He denies there is danger if the scale of production is small. Schneider regards the information he daily receives about his cattle to be accurate because he lives on the farm and knows the herdsman. He contends that Stichelton is safe because his knowledge is based on an unmediated connection to the local conditions. Schneider states that his ability to monitor the 150 or so Friesian-Holstein cows means that any medical concerns (for example, if he notices the cattle are unclean or diseased) will immediately be reported and rectified. He conflates the local and safety: local food (and raw ingredients) is safe because producers control their small-scale territory. An example of this attitude is provided by Gareth Enticott (2003a) who reproduced letters from the British public that responded to a consultation which asked whether unpasteurised milk should be banned. A number of consumers provided the same rationale as Schneider: raw milk is safe because it is local. This perspective is rejected by Peter Jackson's (2010) corporate interviewees who insisted that free-range chickens are exposed to more potentially lethal pathogens like *Salmonella* than 'broilers'. They suggest that there is no automatic connection between food which is 'local' and that which is 'safe'. However, Schneider believes that his conflict with the SCMA stems from a misunderstanding over the scale of production. He is unsure whether they appreciate the level of control he dictates over this modest area. His business model is premised on one farm which produces an insignificant volume compared to the commercial Stilton-makers. The major difference is that he produces his own milk rather than importing it from external farms. Schneider therefore argues that there will be no safety issues for the pasteurisation process to overcome. He asserts that:

“We only make cheese from one herd of milk. I'm thirty yards from where the cows are milked. I see the herdsman each day. We talk about issues of feeding, mastitis,³¹¹ test results, we get feedback – they make changes. It's the kind of dialogue that we have that allows me to have a system where I feel very confident that we produce very safe cheese. I would never make raw milk

³¹⁰ Joe Schneider (Stichelton), 27/05/11.

³¹¹ Mastitis is the inflammation of cows' udders often caused by *E. coli* or *Staphylococcus*.

cheese if I just called up a milk co-op[erative] and said: 'Can you deliver 1,000 litres of milk [which may be 'pooled']?' We [Stichelton] know about the husbandry, we know about the milking parlour, the conditions. If you want to make a raw milk cheese, you have to be on the farm, and you have to have a connection with that farm.”³¹²

The 'scientific' approach to food safety aims to demonstrate the dangers of raw milk consumption through empirical reference to outbreaks of *Listeria* and other pathogens. The SCMA is unconcerned about the professionalism of Schneider and Hodgson but are worried that modification of the PDO would permit anyone with investment capital to create raw milk 'Stilton' which could be fabricated in insalubrious conditions. Joe Schneider is therefore correct when he speculates that the SCMA's concern is about the potential for malfeasance from producers of questionable propriety:

“I think it [the SCMA's desire to maintain pasteurisation] was concern for safety in terms of how it would impact on their [the SCMA's] brand [the name 'Stilton']. What they don't want is every Tom, Dick, and Harry on a dirty farm, making something called 'Stilton' that somebody might get ill from because their experience of the 1988[-89] incident was that one producer had an impact on all of them because nobody [the public] made that distinction [between producers]. They [consumers] just avoided Stilton. There were recalls and sales dropped and that was when the other [then] four [Stilton-makers] put pressure on Colston Bassett and said: 'We need you to go pasteurised'.”³¹³

However, the claim that only raw milk Stilton is traditional or authentic can be challenged by an article entitled “The Stilton Cheese Industry” which appeared in the *Journal of the Society of Dairy Technology*. What is particularly pertinent about this paper is that it was published as far back as 1959. R. Scott (1959: 213) – the Head of the Dairy Department at the University of Nottingham – explains that the change in technique “from raw milk to heat treated milk is the most important feature” of Stilton production and that “there has always been an urge to use raw milk for Stilton cheese, since it is known to produce the connoisseur's flavour, but of course contaminated milk will also produce reject cheese; therefore the judicious use of heat treatment is the

³¹² Joe Schneider (Stichelton), 27/05/11.

³¹³ Joe Schneider (Stichelton), 27/05/11.

answer to the production of good, level quality cheese.” Further, T. J. Brindley's (1949: 14) earlier exegesis in the same journal – “Present-Day Methods of Stilton Cheese Manufacture” – similarly regarded pasteurisation as conventional as “when carried out efficiently, is invaluable in helping to control the bacterial flora.”

A crucial aspect of quality is taste which is personal. However, some consumers think that raw milk cheeses are more palatable than those made with pasteurised milk. Customers who frequent Neal's Yard Dairy have 'epicurean' proclivities and would presumably claim to have discerning palates able to appreciate the nuanced taste provided by raw milk. These customers have re-engineered conventional understandings of safety in their quest for the 'authentic' taste experience. Enticott (2003b: 412) – whose research reveals that rural English villagers have constructed pasteurisation as creating 'unhealthy' milk devoid of natural microbes – claims that “what counts as a 'safe' food is now a highly contested arena and open for (re-)construction to all.” Today's cultural politics present diverse groups who seek to impose their own models of safety. Health is both biological and social. Unpasteurised milk from this perspective is believed to expose the consumer to all that nature intended. West (2008: 26) notes that pasteurisation has been transformed from a health-giving process into a malign force which “destroys the naturally occurring cortisone-like factor in milk, meaning that whereas raw milk products help control allergies, pasteurised milk products do not [and] whereas raw milk products contain beneficial bacteria that colonise the digestive tract and fortify the immune system, pasteurisation diminishes or eliminates these benefits.” It is of interest that 'nature' is contextualised as both positive (by raw milk advocates) or negative (by health campaigners). Natural organic foods are normally contrasted with those that contain artificial inputs while free range meat or eggs is juxtaposed to hormone-imbued equivalents (Stassart and Whatmore, 2003). However, in this case, the SCMA consider 'natural' unpasteurised cheese less safe than its pasteurised brethren.

It therefore becomes apparent that – at least where raw milk is concerned – expertise is increasingly being removed from the control of medical professionals and replaced with a 'bottom-up' approach in which consumers 'make their own science' (Callon, 1999). The science of food safety has become localised. This may appear surprising as 'science' is supposed to be global, replicable, and verifiable yet here it has become based on local cultural conditions. Steven Shapin (1996: 6) stresses that “science is indelibly marked by the local and the spatial circumstances of its making; that scientific knowledge is embodied, residing in people and in such material objects

as books and instruments; and that scientific knowledge is made by and through mundane – and locally varying – modes of social and cultural interaction.” This means that different countries have vastly different attitudes towards unpasteurised cheese (Almli *et al.*, 2011). The localisation of science ensures that some consumers will purchase cheeses 'scientised' by pasteurisation while others will prefer those made with raw milk. Some cheese-makers will pasteurise their cheeses while others will refuse to do so. The attitude that science is local feeds into debates over whether food consumers make rational selections (if 'rational' can be defined) or 'emotive' choices predicated on their personal desires. Consumers may choose raw milk cheeses as they believe that the taste is better due to its 'naturalness' or because they imagine pasteurisation to be a form of unwarranted government intrusion into personal health. Raw milk producers and consumers alike are involved in this ongoing process of constructing and interpreting 'safety'. However, it is important to note that there are more personal reasons for the creation and consumption of raw milk cheese. Bronwen Percival (a buyer at Neal Yard's Dairy) explains that:

“It's not just that the flavour is muted in a pasteurised cheese but the length of the flavour [is also muted]. There's something about unpasteurised cheese and the flavour just rolls on and on and on, whereas – with the pasteurised rendition – it's just a very short flavour – maybe 15 seconds and you can't taste it any more. With pasteurisation, you knock out a certain number of the bacteria – some of which may be pathogens if the milk is not of great quality – but also some of which are going to be bacteria that are capable of metabolising the milk in ways that the starter culture that you add back in never would. You get a wider spectrum of flavours [with unpasteurised milk].³¹⁴

Paxson (2008) uses the portmanteau term 'microbiopolitics' to demonstrate how microbiological activity unveils the conflict between advocates of pasteurisation and raw milk 'apostates'. She perceives the debate to be one of control: the 'winner' instructs (indeed, forces) producers how to make their cheese. To her pasteurisation suggests big government (health and safety, the nanny state, lobbying by large multinationals), industrial cheese production (by the likes of Kraft foods), and opposition to personal responsibility (medical 'professionals' decide regulations) which results in a dearth of consumer choice (raw milk cheese is banned in 26 American states). Paxson (2008: 23) states that “today's post-Pasteurians hope to write a new chapter. They seek to rescue indigenous cultures – microbial but also human – from

³¹⁴ Interview with Bronwen Percival (Neal's Yard Dairy), 27 May 2011.

industrial homogeneity.” She argues that the pasteurisers aim to control milk (and therefore cheese) through the eradication of supposedly 'harmful' biology and asserts (2008: 36) that control of bacteria is control of people because “pasteurisation is a biopolitics predicated on the indirect control of human bodies through direct control over microbial bodies.” A translation of this perspective would imagine the SCMA and DEFRA as controlling the Stichelton producer (and any other nascent producers of raw milk 'Stilton'). However, the evidence does not suggest that the SCMA want total control. Their members appear justifiably concerned about consumer safety. It is possible that the SCMA would be more willing to tolerate or, at least, debate the legitimacy of raw milk 'Stilton' if the 1988-89 crisis had not occurred.

The PDO regulations can be amended with the consent of DEFRA – an organisation unlikely to permit the use of unpasteurised milk in a popular commercial cheese. A recalibrated construction which permitted unpasteurised milk would change how Stilton can be lawfully made. This modification would affect its use as safety conscious consumers may reject it while others might deliberately seek it out. In 2006, the SCMA wrote to Hodgson and informed him that they “must make it very clear that we have no intention of amending the CTM regulations or the terms of the PDO to remove the requirement that milk must be pasteurised before use. To say that you aim 'to produce a farmhouse Stilton made with unpasteurised milk' is ignoring the decision we have already given you.” Hodgson was instructed to immediately “remove any references on the [Stichelton] website to wanting to produce a farmhouse Stilton made from unpasteurised milk [and] that any reference to Stichelton cheese [...] does not imply the cheese is anything like Stilton cheese or has got anything to do with Stilton cheese.”³¹⁵

Stichelton formally asked DEFRA in September 2012 to modify the PDO.³¹⁶ They argued that Stichelton complies with every aspect of the regulation other than the obligation to pasteurise. They want to alter the PDO to allow Stilton producers to use either pasteurised or unpasteurised milk. Their request asserts that raw milk cheeses which are produced in small-scale farmhouse conditions (as is the case for Stichelton) are safe but that unpasteurised factory-produced cheese are far more likely to be unsafe. It is the localisation of production which apparently means that Stichelton is healthy. Schneider notes that the PDO covers the three counties but his raw milk production derives from a tightly-defined, well-regulated, and highly specific location.

³¹⁵ Letter (06 December 2006) from Nigel White (SCMA) to Randolph Hodgson (Neal's Yard Dairy).

³¹⁶ Bronwen Percival (telephone conversation, 17/12/12).

This challenge is resisted on the grounds of consumer safety. The SCMA's concern is that the legal use of unpasteurised milk could create an ominous portent that would allow raw milk ne'er-do-wells to produce 'bathtub' Stilton. The production of raw milk cheese is conventional when such commodities are artisanal (as demonstrated by the numerous unpasteurised cheeses listed on the Speciality Cheesemakers Association (SCA) website)³¹⁷ but is unusual – at least in the UK – for a mainstream cheese like Stilton. Time will tell whether this challenge can alter the legal requirement to pasteurise.

VII. The Network Under Threat?

This study explored a number of issues that are central to Stilton Cheese. These include the difference between the CTM and PDO; constructions of physical and human *terroir*; the use of 'pooled' milk and its effect on cheese specificity; the importation of milk from outside the three counties; claims to the embeddedness of place-based cheese-making skills; the mainstream history which formed the current boundaries; the challenge from the Stilton village campaign group; the SCMA's rationale for pasteurisation; and the potential destabilisation caused by the Stichelton producer. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of three components which cover what I regard as the most important issues of this case: differing constructions of *terroir*, the mechanism by which boundaries are determined and challenged through appeals to history, and the way that definitions of protected foods can become malleable when subject to scrutiny.

The first point is that PDO foods were designed by the EU to be *terroir*-like. Stilton, however, does not appear to be a 'strict' PDO (if such can ever exist) as the SCMA producers justify protected status not only by reference to Stilton's specific geography but additionally apropos their traditional skills. The direct effect of physical *terroir* is militated against in three ways. First, the use of pooled milk means that the unique characteristics which derive from specific farms will be eradicated by the blending process. Second, external sourcing during peak times suggests that the localisation of milk is considerably less important than the regulation implies. Third, the pasteurisation process must annihilate some of the microbes that are said to affect flavour. The evidence indicates that human *terroir* is more relevant to the award of protection than the qualities of land. This is significant given that Stilton possesses PDO status which prioritises physical *terroir* (whereas PGI goods are more concerned

³¹⁷ Website: www.specialistcheesemakers.co.uk/cheeses.php

with tradition). This case suggests that a two-tier (PDO-PGI) system is unnecessary if PDO foods are protected primarily due to traditional methods of production. If, however, a dual PDO-PGI system is desirable then Stilton production has significantly more connection to the land than a 'pure' reputation-based PGI like Melton Mowbray.

The second aspect arose because Stilton (until very recently) was 'black boxed.' There was therefore no need to debate the validity of its history and boundaries. It is the new narrative heralded by the village campaign group which is challenging this previously authoritative narrative. The boundary dispute exists because of the divergent perspectives of the SCMA and the Stilton villagers. Richard Landy says that the village was 'first' to make the cheese while Nigel White stresses that a more important factor is the location from which a cheese that approximates to contemporary Stilton was initially created. The latter regards the establishment of the Long Clawson co-operative in 1911³¹⁸ and the acquisition of the CTM in 1966 to be the founding dates of 'modern' Stilton production. The boundary issue demonstrates how historically significant 'facts' are interpreted in accordance with the subjective perspectives of heterogeneous actors with different economic and cultural agendas.

The third factor surrounds the production of Stilton as defined by the PDO. The Stichelton challenge revolves around the mechanism by which protected names are formally articulated. The disagreement about whether the PDO should be amended to permit unpasteurised cheese refers to the evolutionary potential of all foods and drinks. What exactly is (or could be) 'Stilton' cheese? Where does it come from? Of what is it made? When is a 'Stilton' not a 'Stilton'? The intricacies of the Stilton PDO (and, indeed, for every PFN) may appear fastidious but the very point of each PFN is to determine what is and what is not a specific product. A 'raw milk Stilton' is a legal impossibility at the time of writing. Schneider's destabilisation route confronts the very being of Stilton. He argues that his creation is paradoxically 'traditional' as all Stilton cheese was once unpasteurised. He insists that raw milk 'Stilton' is as 'genuine' – if not more so – than the pasteurised variety. What Schneider considers unwarranted is the SCMA's unwillingness to embrace the changing artisanal foodscape which now includes dozens of raw milk cheeses.

The final case study chapter introduces Grimsby Traditional Smoked Fish and the traditional smokers of cod and haddock. The PGI has created a legal monopoly that connects the place of 'Grimsby' to the 'traditional smoked' method of production.

³¹⁸ Website: www.clawson.co.uk/centenary

However, the many difficulties inherent in the fish smoking trade will demonstrate that protected status is not a panacea that will automatically translate into commercial or cultural success.

Chapter VI

It's Not So 'Grim'³¹⁹ Up Grimsby': Fish Smoking, Sourcing, and 'Keeping the Tradition Alive'.

I. Dropping the Bait.

Grimsby Traditional Smoked Fish are created when cod or haddock fillets are left overnight in traditional smoke-house chimneys located in the Docks area of Grimsby. The smokers argue that this old-fashioned process guarantees an appealing taste, pleasant aroma, and fresh look which distinguishes the fish from that smoked in mechanical kilns. The fish are smoked in Grimsby but it will become clear that the raw material itself primarily originates from Iceland due to the paucity of fish in British waters. This case centralises an historical geographical approach to the study of Geographical Indications (GIs) through an in-depth analysis of the often-troubled relationship between Grimsby and Iceland. To this end it provides an information-rich account of the historical events that affect the smokers' present-day operations in order to demonstrate how apparently disconnected processes can destabilise the Grimsby traditional smoked fish trade.

I commence this chapter with an exploration of the rise and fall of Grimsby's fish industry. I articulate how the connection between place and traditional methods of production was used by the Grimsby Traditional Fish Smokers Group (GTFS)³²⁰ to gain protected status. The 'geography' of this case is very different to that of the Melton Mowbray and Stilton examples because it is the contrast between traditional and mechanical styles of production which apparently justifies protection. It is of significance that none of the fish smoked in Grimsby actually comes from local waters. This suggests that 'Grimsby' refers to local knowledge and skills rather than the source of the raw material. The fish processing infrastructure and smoking industry has existed in Grimsby for generations which has contributed to a specific 'industrial atmosphere'. Nonetheless, the successful application of protected status is dependent on a variety of factors (such as the weather, fish quality, and the Icelandic political situation) over which the smokers have no control. This chapter discusses the techniques required to produce a consistent output in an industry where rapidly-

³¹⁹ 'Grim' was the name of a Danish 9th century leader while 'by' in old Danish means 'village'. 'Grimsby' therefore indicates that the settlement was founded by Grim.

³²⁰ Website: gtfsgroup.co.uk

changing conditions make traditional smoking a challenging business. Grimsby is intricately connected to the political and economic affairs of Iceland and I explain how the Cod Wars and recent financial crisis have affected the smokers' business model. I speculate whether Iceland's desire to join the EU may alter the smokers' relationship with their Reykjavik suppliers. I initiate this chapter with an account of the historical relationship between Grimsby and the fish trade.

II. The Rise and Fall of a Maritime Empire.

In 1801, the population of Grimsby was a mere 1,524 inhabitants although a century later this meagre figure had blossomed to some 75,000 people. The 1841 census stated that only 1.3 percent of all economically active males worked as fishermen (Gerrish, 1993). This would soon change in 1848 due to the advent of the Great North Railway which ran from Grimsby to London which meant that local fish became part of the sophisticated metropolitan diet (Robinson, 1989). The burgeoning railway system allowed once-localised products formerly moved by horse and canals to penetrate hitherto distant locales (Kerby *et al.*, 2012). The railways in effect created the Grimsby fish-trade as they transformed a perishable product into a transportable good (Wilcox, 2012). By 1861, 12 percent of all employed males worked in the fishing industry and, by 1881, the Grimsby fleet caught one-third of all fish landed throughout England and Wales. P. J. Edwards and Jean Marshall's (1977: 97) oral history of the Grimsby trawling community notes that "the growth of the town, aided by the extension of the railway network which ensured that Grimsby fishermen could make greater use of their favourable position as regards North Sea fishing, is shown by the four-fold growth in its population between 1860 and 1880." These developments allow John Rule (1976: 383), in his analysis of British deep-sea fishing, to stress that "by the beginning of the 20th century, Hull and Grimsby were together receiving as much fish as all the remaining ports in England and Wales put together."

The fish trade made many participants prosperous. Nick Triplow *et al.* (2011: 56) – authors of *Distant Voices: Stories from Grimsby's Fishing Fleet* – explain that "by 1880 it was difficult to find a magistrate not connected to the fishing trade and the town's businessmen were active in developing strong masonic links within the upper echelons of the fishing community." Part of this wealth derived from the archaic Poor Law Act of 1601 which encouraged vagabonds, orphans, and ne'er-do-wells to apprentice themselves to the smack (fishing vessel) owners who were desperate for unregulated cheap labour. Many apprentices were not native 'Grimbarians' (as the

locals are affectionately known) but were imported from the nearby ports of Yarmouth and Lowestoft and the work-houses of London. The town's increasing prosperity was demonstrated by the development of ancillary industries essential to the maintenance of the fish trade such as the Grimsby Ice Company (1863)³²¹ and the Great Grimsby Coal, Salt and Tanning Company (1872).

Smoking rapidly became an essential component of the fish processing trade. T. R. Durham (2000: 78) asserts that “the techniques of salting and smoking evolved in regions where weather was more of an adversary than an asset and where seasonal harvests had to last through many months of scarcity.” There were 24 fish curers listed in the 1870 *Grimsby Directory*, 43 in the 1880 edition, 63 by 1890, and 72 in 1936. Traditional smoking highlighted the skilled labour integral to the town and contributed to Grimsby's reputation as a maritime powerhouse. The 1930s were the apogee of the smoking industry; three factors led to its decline. The first issue was the invention, in 1939, of the mechanical kiln by the Torry Research Station in Aberdeen.³²² Mechanical smoking routinised a cheaper and faster production method which allowed fish to be smoked in three to four hours rather than overnight. The second aspect was that of changing consumer tastes. Traditional smoked fare was replaced by fish fingers and breaded fillets. The rise in female employment in the 1960s prevented many women from preparing complicated dishes: home-cooked 'fast food' resolved this problem. The influence of the supermarket chains and popularity of frozen food contributed to the decline in smoked fish consumption. The third component was the devastation caused by the Cod Wars. The Icelandic government's unilateral expansion of their coastal waters prohibited British trawlers from entering their former fishing grounds which led to a dramatic reduction in the availability of quality fish. This meant – according to W. F. A. Horner (2001: 227) in *Grimsby – Still Europe's Food Town* – that “no longer was fish unloaded from trawlers moored three deep to fish trains also three deep at the dockside [as] fish was no longer the cheap alternative to meat, landed in huge quantities, for rapid conveyance to the kitchens of our institutions.” These developments signify that smoked fish represents an archaic relic of Britain's maritime past. Consumers can today purchase a variety of cheaper dishes which are easy to prepare (like fish fingers or battered cod). The industry has declined from its heyday and traditional smoked fish have now become a premium niche.

³²¹ The Great Grimsby Ice Company Factory was built in 1901 but closed in 1990.

³²² The Torry Research Station still operates under the auspices of the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA).

The Grimsby fish sourcing industry has been in decline since the Cod Wars. However, the town has become a major player in the fish processing (rather than catching) business. North East Lincolnshire Council's overt aim is to encourage capital investment. There are already 500 food companies in the town which have created some 27,000 jobs. Eighty percent of the UK's seafood processors are located in Grimsby. Young's (fish-fingers, haddock fillets, scampi, and their Jamie Oliver range) employ about 1,700 people³²³ while Coldwater Seafood (haddock, plaice, sole, and scampi) engage approximately 500.³²⁴ The Council has branded Grimsby 'Europe's Food Town'.³²⁵ The traditional smokers occupy a small but prestigious niche within the broader fish processing industry.

The traditional smokers claim that their techniques are considerably more exclusive than those of their mechanical kiln competitors. We will shortly learn of the constructions they employ in order to justify protected status. First, however, the material reproduction of the traditional smoking process requires some brief description and photographic elaboration for it is the regulated procedure and desire to distinguish these techniques which directly led to protected status.

III. The Production of Traditional Smoked Fish.

Fish smoking originally had a practical use but today the process is designed to provide an engaging taste while promoting values of tradition and authenticity. There are two ways to smoke fish. 'Cold' smoking does not cook the fish which means that the chimney temperature must remain under 30°C. 'Hot' smoking cooks the fish while imparting a smoky flavour. The Group cold smoke their fish. Traditional smoking occurs through a regulated six stage process depicted by the photographs (see Plates 6.1-6.4) I took in the smoke-houses of Alfred Enderby³²⁶ and Keith Graham. First, the fish are purchased from the auction on the Grimsby Docks, bought from agents who offer fish at a fixed price, or flown or shipped in directly from Iceland, Norway, or the Faroe Islands. Second, the fish are filleted by hand. Third, the now-filleted fish are placed in brine for between five and 15 minutes. The larger fillets need 15 minutes submergence while the smaller ones require less immersion. Brining means that the fish should possess a uniform level of salt. Fourth, the filleted and brined fish are placed on steel rods called 'speats' and left overnight in the smoke-house chimneys.

³²³ Website: www.youngsseafood.co.uk/web/company_ourhomeingrimsby.asp

³²⁴ Website: www.coldwater.co.uk

³²⁵ Website: www.greatergrimsby.net

³²⁶ Website: alfredenderby.co.uk

Plate 6.1: The haddock fillets are placed in brine.



Plate 6.2: The filleted and brined haddock are placed on 'speats' to await smoking.



Plate 6.3: The rows of haddock on 'speats' are smoked in the tar-clad chimneys.

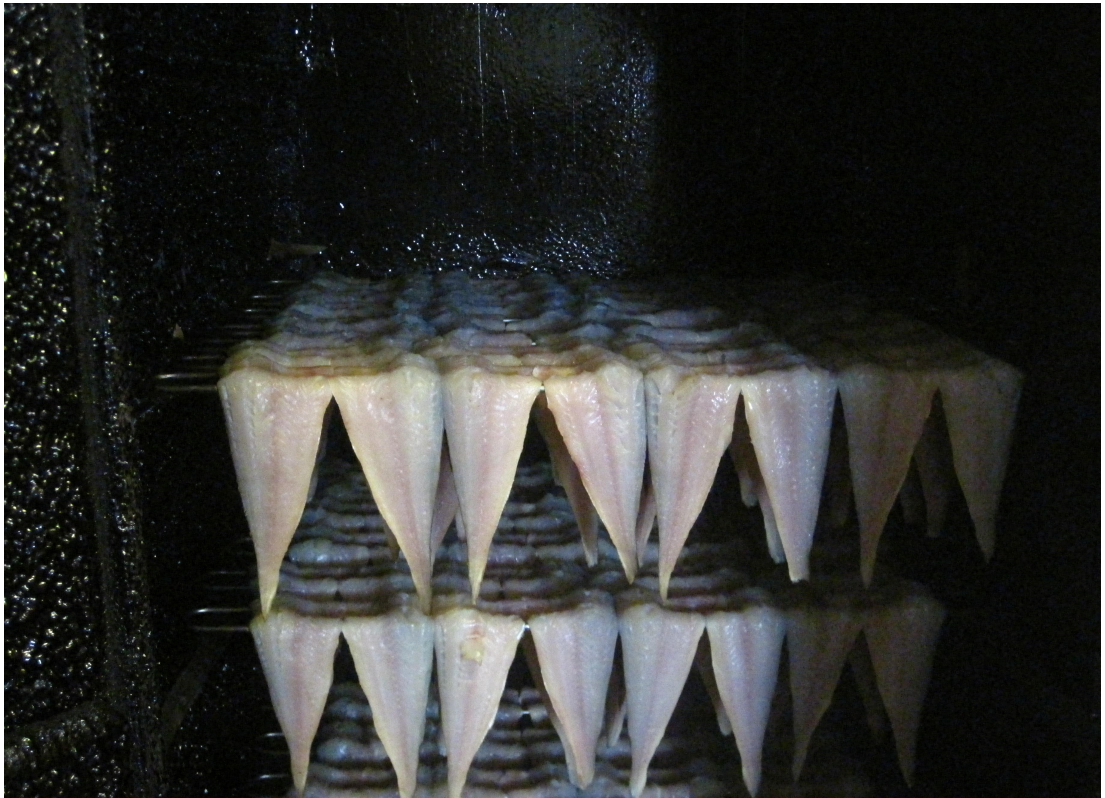


Plate 6.4: The smoked haddock are removed from the chimneys.



The chimneys are of limited width so several rows are required. The walls are clad with tar which helps to impart flavour to the fish. Smouldering sawdust (usually beech)³²⁷ is located at the bottom of each chimney. The smokers use sawdust rather than wooden logs or wood chips because it generates less heat which prevents the fish from being cooked. Fifth, during the early hours of the following morning, the fish nearest the sawdust are removed. Higher-up fish will be extracted over the next few hours. Sixth, the now-smoked fish are cooled and packaged for distribution. I detail this elaborate, demanding, and time-consuming procedure as it clearly depicts the production mechanism of traditional smoked cod and haddock. It becomes obvious that several critical rules must be obeyed in order to create the 'authentic' outcome. An aspect that initially appears trivial like the type of sawdust is actually a crucial element of production. These 'laws' are set-out in the PGI regulation. It is this type of stringent requirement which can be codified in a legal document like the PGI. This distinguishes the traditional methods from those of the mechanical producers who shy away from such a laborious process in their quest for maximum productivity.

Two pertinent aspects comprise the material production of traditional smoked fish. The first is that the Group employ an apparently traditional smoking mechanism which they claim is superior to the production techniques of the mechanical kiln owners. The second is that the smoking procedure must occur in Grimsby. The Group perceive that the connection between Grimsby and their traditional methods of production provides significant cultural and economic value. It was the battle for the 'traditional smoked' name which initiated the arduous journey towards protected status.

IV. Rationales for the Protection of Grimsby Fish.

Richard Enderby (the co-owner of Alfred Enderby whose smoke-house is almost a century old) is also the Chairman of the GTFS.³²⁸ He was, by the late 1990s, increasingly concerned that the 'traditional smoked' brand was being 'passed off' by mechanical kiln smokers eager to position their fish as traditional. In 1998, he was

³²⁷ Durham (2000) notes that beech is a popular fuel in Europe while other sources include alder, cedar, cherry, hickory, juniper, maple, and oak.

³²⁸ The Group currently consists of five members: Alfred Enderby, GH Abernethie, MTL Fish Curers, Seachill, and Sealord Caistor. Seachill joined the Group some months after my visit to Grimsby. The PGI smoked haddock comprises only a small part of their production. I also interviewed David Atkinson of The Fishwife (formerly Atkinson's Fish Merchants). The Fishwife is currently not PGI compliant but Atkinson's did produce protected fish.

casually perusing *Food and Drink International* magazine³²⁹ which serendipitously featured an endorsement of the protected foods scheme. Enderby immediately realised that protected status would grant him control over the 'traditional smoked' name. He decided to apply for Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) status. It would have been unrealistic to request Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) certification because all fish are sourced from outside Grimsby. The 'production' of the fish are out-of-place even though the 'processing' (the smoking) and 'preparation' (the filleting) are in-place. Enderby soon learned that a collective application had more likelihood of success as a group of traditional smokers enmeshed in one place suggested a hub of historic industry. He duly formed the Group with four initial members.³³⁰

In 2001, the Group published an informative booklet entitled *The Story of Traditional Fish Smoking in Grimsby* which clearly articulates the Group's rationale for the acquisition of PGI status. It explains (2001: 4) that “for generations smoked fish was referred to as 'cured' or 'dry', but with the advent of mechanical kilns traditional smokers adopted the term 'smoked' to emphasise that their process was entirely dependent on the smoke produced from the smouldering embers of wood shavings. Kiln curers also adopted the term 'smoked' for their process to mask the difference between the two products. This has made it necessary for the original process to be renamed 'traditional smoked'.” The smokers take every opportunity to explain the difference between traditional and mechanical methods. It is therefore helpful to detail how an impartial body such as the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) understands the distinction:

“In the mechanical kiln, the fires are contained in separate fireboxes, and the smoke is blown horizontally through trolleys holding fish in the kiln; the fish may be hung on rails or laid on trays, either of which are supported in the trolley. The temperature and speed of the mixture of smoke and air is carefully controlled to give a uniform product throughout the kiln in a much shorter time than is possible in the chimney [traditional] kiln. Fish handling is much reduced using the mechanical kiln which can also readily be incorporated in the factory production line. Partial drying as well as smoke

³²⁹ The magazine focuses on “best practices: in customer focus, in supply chain management, in productivity, in food safety and in marketing” and is apparently “the only magazine with editorial that explains best practices for CEOs, presidents and other leaders in the restaurant chain, food processing, manufacturing and service / distribution businesses.”

³³⁰ The four founding members were Alfred Enderby, Atkinson Fish Merchants (now known as The Fishwife), MTL Fish Curers, and Traditional Seafoods (which no longer trades).

deposition is an essential part of the smoke curing process; typically a kipper which should lose about 14 percent in weight during smoking will require six to 12 hours in a traditional kiln, but only four hours in a mechanical one.”³³¹

The danger for the traditional smokers was that mechanical kiln owners – having already employed the terms 'cured' and 'smoked' – would start to use the 'traditional smoked' terminology. The Group are at pains to assert that mechanical kiln operators 'knew' that they could market a more successful product by appropriating the traditional smoking language (see Figure 6.1). There was nothing unlawful about the kiln owners' use of 'cured' or 'smoked' because these fish were salted and hence 'cured' and their process also used smoke although far less than in the traditional process and at a considerably faster rate. The Group argue that the mechanical kiln owners' use of identical linguistic devices negated the conceptual boundaries which described the different smoking processes. They thought it unlikely that consumers understood the subtle distinction between genres of smoking and further believed that purchasers who desired traditional smoked fish would usually have inadvertently purchased mechanically smoked products. However, there was also an economic rationale for protection because consumers who accidentally purchased the 'wrong' style of smoked fish reduced the Group's sales. A desire to protect consumers thus additionally benefited the 'authentic' producers. Enderby decided that PGI status would control the terminology that could successfully differentiate their product from that of the mechanical kiln owners. It is not essential to contrast GIs with 'inferior' yet similar goods but such a scenario can be marketed to consumers. Richard Enderby argues that the traditional approach provides a better outcome:

“The thing about a mechanical kiln is that it is quicker and easier but it [the outcome] is a different product. We think it looks different and it doesn't have the same taste and aroma that you get by having fish in the smoke-house all night. The fish that's done in a mechanical kiln for three or four hours is electrically heated and then has smoke injected over it. The traditional system is reliant entirely on smoke and it takes a lot longer but it imbues more flavour and we think it should be recognised as a premium product. Whatever we said – they [mechanical kiln operators] would say as well. At one time we used to call it 'cured' and then to differentiate ourselves from

³³¹ Website: www.fao.org/wairdocs/tan/x5927e/x5927e01.htm

Figure 6.1: The GTSF logo.



mechanical [kilns] we called it 'smoked' so they called it 'smoked'. So we called it 'traditional' so they called it 'traditional'. In this country the laws against what you describe something as are pretty lax so we had to go to Europe.”³³²

The Group believe that the taste and physical appearance of their fish are superior which, no doubt, explains why the mechanical smokers used their terminology. The smokers' requirements are demanding as they need correctly-sized fish (not too large for the chimneys but sufficient to eat), with ample flesh (minimal 'offal'),³³³ not bruised, and in plentiful quantities. They argue that traditional smoked fish with its stringent production techniques is a direct challenge to the mechanical smoking procedure. The PGI regulation states “the characteristics of 'Traditional Grimsby Smoked Fish' are linked to the geographical area on the basis of tradition, reputation, the smoking process and the skills of those involved in the process. Skills which have been passed down from generation to generation.”³³⁴ The smokers repeatedly mentioned the importance of traditional skills. The distinction between types of smoking is explained as “the experience and expertise required to smoke fish successfully in the traditional way can only be learnt over many years with the

³³² Interview with Richard Enderby (Alfred Enderby), 23 August 2011.

³³³ Approximately half of any fish is inedible because consumers do not eat the head, tail, or fins. This unconsumed proportion is known as 'offal'. Enderby's aim is to achieve a 'yield' of 50% edible material.

³³⁴ PGI Regulation Section 4.6.

knowledge often being handed down over generations. This in contrast to the modern mechanical kiln, which is a sealed oven that is electrically heated and regulated simply by turning dials.”³³⁵ This PGI distinguishes between the traditional and modern approach to fish smoking. Mark Wheatley (the Proprietor of GH Abernethie³³⁶ which can smoke up to 1,500 kilograms per day) contrasts the smoking processes:

“It's pretty much like putting a free range egg against a battery farm egg. If I crack one against you on a plate one on one – you can tell [the difference] by the brightness of the yolk – plus the consumer would rather have the free range egg. It's the same with the traditional [fish] as against the kiln. You can get some decent gear out of a kiln. But when you compare traditional smoked haddocks against kiln smoked haddocks: they have a shine. They have a gleam. It's more natural. The other way is forced.”³³⁷

Sealord's (the largest member of the Group)³³⁸ rationale for using the PGI derives from its relationship with Waitrose. Sealord sell all their fish to Waitrose while the other smokers distribute their outputs to a variety of hotels, restaurants, and delicatessens. Waitrose management encouraged Sealord to join the Group and utilise the PGI. The PGI logo allows Waitrose to differentiate their smoked fish from that on sale at their supermarket rivals. The PGI operates as a qualification mechanism which promotes values of place, heritage, quality, and authenticity. Grimsby is well-known for fish which allows Waitrose to refer to the town's maritime heritage.³³⁹ Steve Millson (the Commercial Director of Sealord Caistor) reveals that:

“It [joining the Group] was partially driven by Waitrose. They are always looking for authenticity. They actually do promote the product on their [fish] counters as traditional smoked. They saw that [the PGI] as a real opportunity to get behind the provenance of Grimsby. It gives them [Waitrose] a unique position because they are the only retailer in the UK that can say: 'Grimsby Traditional Smoked Fish'. It just gives them that little bit of differentiation between themselves and the other

³³⁵ PGI Regulation Section 4.6.

³³⁶ Website: www.ghabernethie.co.uk

³³⁷ Interview with Mark Wheatley (GH Abernethie), 24 August 2011.

³³⁸ Caistor is located in Lincolnshire about 20 kilometres from the Docks.

³³⁹ The May 2011 edition of WaitroseLIVE features a video interview with Angela King. This interactive online magazine demonstrates how Waitrose promotes Keith Graham and the PGI. Website: waitroselive.mymedia.co.uk/1N4da56d01c233b839.cde.

retailers. They saw it [the PGI] as a real opportunity to get provenance and a point of difference.”³⁴⁰

The PGI protects cod and haddock although the latter is far more popular. Haddock is particularly appreciated in the North of England as demonstrated by Grimsby Town Football Club's illustrious mascot: Harry Haddock.³⁴¹ *The Seafood Guide* from the Sea Fish Industry Authority³⁴² (n/d: 19) explains that “haddock is probably more loved North of the border – order fish and chips in Scotland and it's battered skinless Haddock you'll get – not the skin on Cod you get South of the border.” David Atkinson (who owns The Fishwife³⁴³ which is also a traditional fish-monger) comments that, in 1974, (when he started trading) 95 percent of the smoked fish business was cod but today 99 percent is haddock.³⁴⁴ The inclusion of cod in the PGI denotes perspicacity as it is never entirely clear how fashions will change. It is sensible for all GI producers to ensure that the regulation provides sufficient flexibility for producers to adapt to potential modifications in consumer behaviour. Ian Button (the owner of MTL Fish Curers³⁴⁵ which is the smallest member of the Group) explains why smoked haddock is significantly more popular than smoked cod:

“Traditionally people say: 'smoked haddock'. We do a little bit of smoked cod. Four or five years ago cod got very, very difficult to get. It went extremely expensive for about 12 months. We actually got a lot of our [haddock] customers from a wave of people down South where cod is more popular. We sort of got them [the retailers] to start pushing haddock rather than cod. Now that only lasted for about a year but by then everyone who had haddock – continued. So we sell 100 boxes of haddock and only one box of cod.”³⁴⁶

An important characteristic of the PGI feeds into consumer perceptions of the 'natural' (Mansfield, 2011). These types of food are believed to be devoid of artificial flavourings and preservatives. Jacinthe Bessière (1998: 25) asserts that “by eating a so-called natural or traditional product, the eater seems to incorporate, in addition to nutritional and psycho-sensorial characteristics of the food, certain symbolic

³⁴⁰ Interview with Steve Millson (Sealord Caistor), 24 August 2011.

³⁴¹ Harry has since been replaced by the current mascot: Mighty Mariner.

³⁴² A Quasi-Autonomous Non-Governmental Organisation (QUANGO) which works with the seafood industry to promote quality and sustainability.

³⁴³ Website: www.thefishwife.co.uk

³⁴⁴ Interview with David Atkinson (The Fishwife), 24 August 2011.

³⁴⁵ MTL represents the founders of the firm: Martin and Terry Leggett.

³⁴⁶ Interview with Ian Button (MTL Fish Curers), 24 August 2011.

characteristics: one appropriates and embodies the nature, culture, and identity of an area.” However, to 'consume' such a place, the product must be unadulterated as it embodies the arena of production. A food which appeared riddled with a myriad of dubious chemical 'enhancements' could hardly be a positive promoter of place. The Group promote their cod and haddock as 'natural' and appeal to its colour described in the PGI as cream to beige.³⁴⁷ This creates a point of difference to fish dyed yellow and also distinguishes the Group's product from mechanically produced fish which has no such restrictions on colour. Fish are dyed to conceal imperfections such as missing flesh or a bruised texture. Haddock has been dyed for decades and thus generations of fish consumers perceive that yellow fish are 'normal'. By comparison, PGI fish must be 'natural' (undyed) cod or haddock (see Plate 6.5). There is no obligation for PFNs to be 'natural' yet their status as foods of high quality would make it surprising if this was not the case. Berit Nygård and Oddveig Storstad (1998: 42), in their study of 'safe' food in Norway, argue that “the consumer may very well believe that there is a difference between natural products and processed food, where processed food will often seem more 'mysterious' than pure natural products with recognizable colours, smells, tastes and shapes.” Similarly, Damian Maye and Brian Ilbery (2006), in their investigation of speciality foods from the Scottish borders, note that Waitrose selected a specialist Craster kipper³⁴⁸ producer as their core supplier because the kippers were undyed.

It was appropriate for Richard Enderby to insist that only undyed fish be protected. A request for protection which argued that covering fish in yellow dye was 'traditional' may have engendered adverse scrutiny. However, the PGI has created a starkly incongruous situation at Waitrose. Visitors to the fish counter will notice 'Grimsby Traditional Smoked Haddock' described as line-caught and undyed which retails for £14.49 per kilogram. A few inches away is 'Traditional Smoked Haddock' which is also line-caught and sold for the same price but is dyed.³⁴⁹ This haddock is also smoked in Grimsby but cannot be described as such because the PGI restricts the use of the town's name to undyed fish. This means that fish smoked in Grimsby cannot be legally advertised as 'Grimsby' fish. The exclusion of dyed fish is not entirely appreciated. Ian Button asserts that they should also be covered by the PGI:

“The PGI only covers the 'natural' smoked fish. Now that's because when Richard [Enderby] originally went to get the PGI he felt it would be easier to just do it [get protection] on the natural [fish]. Twenty years ago we didn't do natural. We

³⁴⁷ Traditional Grimsby Smoked Fish Registration: Dossier Number UK/PGI/0005/0132 Section 4.2

³⁴⁸ Craster is a village in Northumberland where kippers have traditionally been oak smoked.

³⁴⁹ These prices were collected on 20 February 2012.

Plate 6.5: Grimsby undyed haddock contrasted with dyed haddock.



[MTL] started with Regal [the company which transports MTL's fish] – they approached us and said: 'We're looking at selling fish as a healthy option. Is there any way of doing it without the dye?' Until then, we'd never heard of doing it naturally. So Richard thought that by going for that one product – it would be an easier way to get it [the PGI]. Unfortunately it wasn't easy. It still took 10 years but I think now, in hindsight, he probably wishes he'd have – I think we all [Group members] probably wish he would have – gone for the yellow as well. It's [the dye] turmeric³⁵⁰ and annatto³⁵¹ blended from two natural colourants. Now it's [dyeing] a healthy option.”³⁵²

Thus far this case has exclusively focused on the production process. Grimsby itself has all but been ignored at the expense of the distinction between types of smoking. I now investigate the locations from which protected fish are sourced and

³⁵⁰ Turmeric is a natural orange-yellow colourant which derives from the stem of a plant similar to ginger.

³⁵¹ Annatto is a natural yellow colourant which originates from the pulp that surrounds the seeds of the achiote tree.

³⁵² Ian Button (MTL Fish Curers), 24/08/11.

analyse the structures that enable the PGI to be applied 'at sea' and 'onshore'. It is of note that the fish originate from far afield and I explain why – despite the 'Grimsby' name – this is a permissible use of PGI status.

V. The Sourcing and Smoking of Protected Geographical Indication Fish.

The producers of place-based foods are able to obtain formal GIs because their products are considered to have a physical connection to a defined place, are created through the use of traditional skills within place, or possess some combination thereof. There must surely be some localised aspect to what is, after all, a geographical form of Intellectual Property (IP) even though the main rationale for protection in this case was the Group's desire to protect their traditional skills. The Group smoke in Grimsby but source from Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and Norway (see Figure 6.2). Yet this does not explain why Grimsby fish do not come from Grimsby waters. Centuries of over-fishing means that there are insufficient numbers of cod and haddock in the waters that surround the town. In fact fish stocks throughout are depleted the North Sea (ICES, 2012). The dearth of fish is not a recent phenomenon as, in 1895, marine biologist Ernest Holt's (1895: 343) *Examination of the Present State of the Grimsby Trawl Fishery* concludes that “the complaints of the trawlers and fish merchants resolved themselves into the following brief statement: That large numbers of immature fish were destroyed by trawling, and that the supply of trawl-fish in the North Sea was in consequence diminishing.” Two decades later the situation had not improved. J. S. Gardiner (1915: 490), in his *Geography of British Fisheries*, asserts that “man's action in the North Sea has become such as to destroy the balance of nature, acting as it does principally on the mature fish, lessening their number, and so the amount of spawn to produce the next generation.” Tina Kerby *et al.* (2012: 624) explain that “at the end of the 19th century, signs of overfishing [in the North Sea] were already apparent, and English landings discernibly decreased at the beginning of the 20th century.” This led British trawlers to migrate to more fecund grounds. John Knauss (2005) reveals that, well over a century ago, the Grimsby fleet was a 'distant water fishery'. The trawlers targeted foreign territories like Iceland which were renowned for their exceptional shoals. There were 14 boats dedicated to Icelandic waters in 1892 but 150 by 1904.³⁵³

³⁵³ Other areas of interest included the Barents Sea, the Faroe Islands, Greenland, Newfoundland, and the coasts of Portugal, Spain, and North Africa.

Figure 6.2: Map of Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and Norway.



The smokers never argued that the 'Grimsby' name had been exploited (as the mechanical kiln owners were located in the town) but were instead concerned about the debasement of their 'traditional' terminology. They aimed to protect the production style core to their Grimbarian heritage and manufacturing regime. A key question which must consequently arise is the extent to which the PGI invokes any form of geographical reasoning if the Group's aim was to protect methods of production. PFNs are part of the international GI system which suggests that place should be central to any request for and award of protection. However, in this case, the fish do not originate from British waters let alone those offshore from Grimsby. This scenario is legally acceptable for PGIs as it is permissible for the raw ingredients to have only a tangential connection to the place of protection. It does, however, mean that GI status can be acquired even when a substantial part of the geography derives from outside the protected zone. This appears to undermine the spirit of geographical accuracy and denotes how flexible the GI model has become when compared to the stringently-defined boundaries of Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée (AOC) wines. The smoking procedure is the only place-based aspect and is thus the element on which the smokers rely to justify protected status.

The business model of Sealord indicates the divergent tactics the smokers employ. Sealord imports Icelandic fish and has long-standing relationships with

suppliers in Reykjavik. Their fish originates from the Icelandic capital and is flown to Humberside (in North Lincolnshire) or East Midlands airport. By comparison, the other Group members import frozen fish by ship. Sealord believes that air transport ensures freshness and minimises damage. The major concern is quality rather than the locations from which the fish derives. The fact that the fish may be regarded as out-of-place is irrelevant from this perspective. The need to prevent imperfections in the fish was explained by Steve Millson and Angela King (the Manager of Keith Graham)³⁵⁴ during my tour of the Keith Graham smoke-house. They displayed a 'perfect' haddock (see Plate 6.6) which was smooth and unblemished and compared it to several rejected haddocks which had missing chunks of flesh. Steve Millson asserts that Sealord's methods guarantee quality:

“Our dedicated suppliers in Iceland – we will have fish that was literally swimming yesterday which is landed [in Reykjavik], filleted, processed – on an aeroplane and arrives here [Grimsby] the very next day. The way it [the fish] is handled and the way it's processed so quickly – a lot of our fish arrives that's not even properly 'rigored' [*rigor mortis*].³⁵⁵ So it [using Iceland] was driven primarily by quality, but consistency of quality from people that have the same quality culture that we have, which is why we've developed these relationships with Iceland over the last 10 to 15 years. You know what you're getting, when you're getting it, and who's bringing [importing] it.”³⁵⁶

The PGI does not specify how the cod and haddock should be caught. It is not essential for traditional smoked fish to be sourced in an ethical fashion but it would be unusual if the raw material was acquired inhumanely. Waitrose insists on 'line-caught' cod and haddock – where dozens of lines with bait are dropped over the side of the ship – which contrasts with 'trawl-caught' and 'gillnet-caught' fish which their management consider unethically caught. Millson and King additionally assert that trawl-caught and gillnet-caught fish are more likely to be bruised or mutilated.³⁵⁷ Ethics and self-interest combine to demand line-caught cod and haddock. Steve Millson explains:

³⁵⁴ Keith Graham is not a member of the Group but is wholly owned by Sealord Caistor.

³⁵⁵ Steve Millson (e-mail, 27/09/11) explains that fish sent by air are often filleted before the fish goes into 'rigour'. Such fish are known in the industry as 'pre-rigour' fillets.

³⁵⁶ Steve Millson (Sealord Caistor), 24/08/11.

³⁵⁷ Interview with Steve Millson (Sealord Caistor) and Angela King (Keith Graham), 24 August 2011.

Plate 6.6: A 'perfect' unblemished haddock.



“We [Sealord] are only able [allowed by Waitrose] to source 'line-caught' raw material and we do not process or use any 'trawl-caught' or 'gillnet-caught' fish. That comes back to sustainability – to protecting the sea environment. That restricts where you can buy the raw material from. We are able to source the volumes that we need through line-caught raw material and it also gives you a better quality product. You don't get the bruising of the fish – you get a much whiter flesh from line-caught raw material.”³⁵⁸

The almost 'spiritual' aspect of this case is depicted by the 'romantic' ideology generated by working in an 'old-fashioned' industry where skilled labour helps to determine quality. The very nature of 'manual' labour – during an epoch of computerisation, mechanisation, and standardisation – distinguishes traditional smoked fish production from most other trades. Almost all jobs would once have required an unmediated connection to the land or sea. The use of such histories is part

³⁵⁸ Steve Millson (Sealord Caistor), 24/08/11.

of the rubric common to GIs as references to a bygone era present an appealing image to purchasers who wish to 'consume' the past. The Grimsby case is different to those from the previous chapters because the history of traditional smoking is not contested (whereas the Melton Mowbray boundaries were predicated on the disputed history of fox-hunting and the 18th century history of Stilton was used to create the contentious present-day borders). Mark Wheatley reviews past production methods to illustrate how the industry historically functioned:

“It's [smoking] a unique industry. It's like [putting] a filleter against a mechanic. With the mechanic – you've got your engine and you're taught that this does that and that does this. If you're a filleter – you're actually using your knife skills which can then be transferred to the smoking side. Most people start down here [on the Docks] at the age – well they used to – at 13 or 14 as a 'barrow lad'. Then during your dinner hour you pick a knife up when the filleters have gone to dinner and you ask the gaffer if you can fillet some coley³⁵⁹ – a cheap fish. And the gaffer always says 'yes' because he's getting fish cut for nothing. It might be a bit ragged but you learn. Eventually you progress and 'I don't want to be the barrow lad any more. Can you give me a filleting job?' 'No, I can't. We've got enough filleters.' So you leave and see someone else on the fish market: 'Are you looking for a filleter?' You get better as you get older. The same thing happens in the curing house. You're on the brines all day. You go home covered in yellow [dye] or salt and you stink of smoke. But eventually – you've taken the fish out of the brine on to the 'horses' [the racks]. You have to go into the chimneys to have them passed up to you to load the chimney and know when that fish is ready to either be lowered or raised during the process. It [the knowledge] only comes with experience. You can't write it in a book. You can't put it on paper. It's a natural learning.”³⁶⁰

The contrast between the apparent 'ease' of kiln smoking and the demanding physical work of the traditional smokers created a two-tier system in which the Group felt disadvantaged. Not only did they produce less volume than the kiln smokers and were subject to the variability inherent to the traditional procedure but they also had to

³⁵⁹ A substitute for cod or haddock due to its inexpensive price.

³⁶⁰ Mark Wheatley (GH Abernethie), 24/08/11.

perform the rigorous labour required to fillet and brine many thousands of fish every day. Protected status was awarded based on the traditional production methods which suggests that the smokers' difficult conditions have been acknowledged by PGI certification. The intense working style infers that a smoked fish aficionado 'consumes' the skills and energy that have conceptually 'entered' the product. David Atkinson describes the demanding work environment in his smoke-house:

“Some people [workers] don't even get past the brining stage. The first thing you do – you learn how to put fish on a speat to balance it so that it doesn't fall off when it goes up a chimney. So you've got to hang the right amount out over each side. That is the first job – dipping hands in the saturated salt solution, put in the fish, over the rods. In my case, they've got 9,000 of those to do in a day. 'Why aren't you going quicker?' is the first thing I say. You've got to pick one fillet up with one hand and another one up with another hand and do two at a time because otherwise you'll never do the quantity you've got to do. So you've got to look at the fish and position your hands in the right way so their heads go over that side and get used to balancing it by just one action instead of taking too long. That takes time just to learn that – months just getting that. Then they've got to put it on the 'horses' [the racks] because it's [the fish] wet and slippery without dropping it. And then it dries out a bit and then they get to the point where they pass it into the chimneys without dropping it, and then they get to where – instead of being the one passing them in – they're the one who's gone a little way up [the chimney].”³⁶¹

These traditional techniques occupy a specialist niche within Grimsby. The industrial character of the town incorporates local expertise, an infrastructure dedicated to the fish processing business, ancillary industries that support the main business, reduced cost transactions due to economies of scale, the circulation of pertinent information, and a co-operative culture. Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift (1992: 577) describe such locations as “geographical centres, that is, place-bound communities in which the agglomeration and interaction between firms, institutions, and social groups acts to generate and reinforce that 'industrial atmosphere' which nurtures the knowledge, communication, and innovation structures required for retaining

³⁶¹ David Atkinson (The Fishwife), 24/08/11.

competitive advantage.” Close spatial relations help to form and solidify localised knowledge (Amin, 1994; Sforzi, 2002; Storper and Venables, 2004). This process is described by Jung Won Sonn and Michael Storper (2008: 1022) as one that is “geographically bounded, because its production, exploitation, and circulation occur through dense, costly, and culturally embedded interactions between economic entities.” Moreover, from a GI perspective, this description evokes the concept of 'club' goods. The smokers all use the collective 'traditional smoked' name and are members of the Group. The co-operative format of the GI model encourages this type of collaborative atmosphere. The smokers are urban and located in close proximity to each other. This is discernible by a visit to the Docks (see Figures 6.3 and 6.4 and Plate 6.7). I visited all of the smoke-houses on foot within minutes. The PGI protects all territory inside the political boundaries of Grimsby although the producers are located in a considerably more limited area. This differs from the Melton Mowbray and Stilton cases where some producers were located in rural or semi-rural areas while there was a much greater physical distance between manufacturers.³⁶²

This sense of the 'local' at Grimsby invokes a cultural ecology of place which rejects the 'globalisation' of mechanical kilns that can smoke fish 'anywhere'. Mechanical kilns, in this conception, are de-localisation devices challenged by rooted in-place traditional chimneys. Grimsby's labour market provides the skills required to fillet and smoke fish,³⁶³ the close interdependence between local industries enables the free flow of information about hundreds of local fish processing businesses while the smokers themselves are bound by the legalities of the PGI. This formula has created a variety of integrated systems which include the auction, transport networks (vans which dispatch the finished product), and educational bodies like the Grimsby Fish Merchants Association,³⁶⁴ the Humber Seafood Institute,³⁶⁵ and the Food Dynamo Training Centre.³⁶⁶ Richard Enderby details this industrial infrastructure:

³⁶² The Melton Mowbray producers are located as far afield as Grantham and Northampton. The Stilton producers are also dispersed: Tuxford & Tebbutt, for example, is located in Leicestershire while Cropwell Bishop is based in Nottinghamshire.

³⁶³ The industry is, however, increasingly less attractive to young men who can, for example, join the armed forces.

³⁶⁴ The Association currently has 80 full members. It provides advice and services which includes financial settlement, legal services, links with local government bodies, and lobbying. It is a shareholder in Grimsby Fish Market.

³⁶⁵ The Institute was created by North East Lincolnshire Council at a cost of £5.9 million and provides space and technical support to seafood processors. Its facilities include chemical laboratories, refrigeration, and product development kitchens.

³⁶⁶ The Centre is part of the Grimsby Institute of Further & Higher Education. It is located on Grimsby Docks and provides facilities to trial new food products.

Figure 6.3: Map of Grimsby which emphasises the Docks.

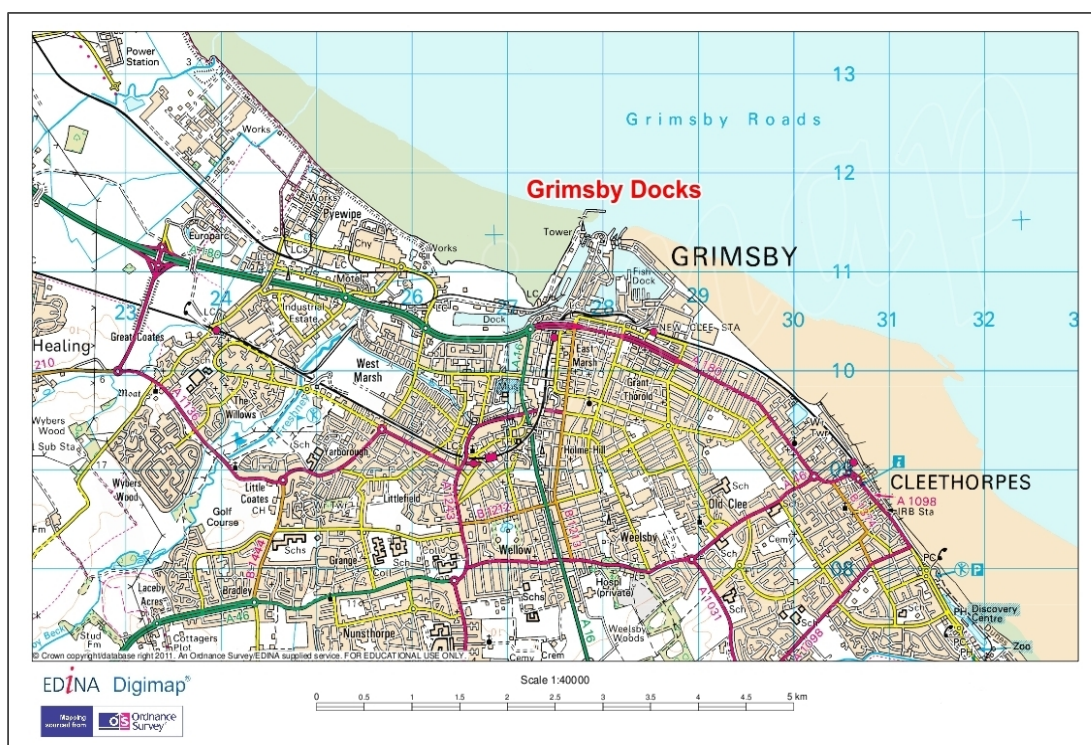
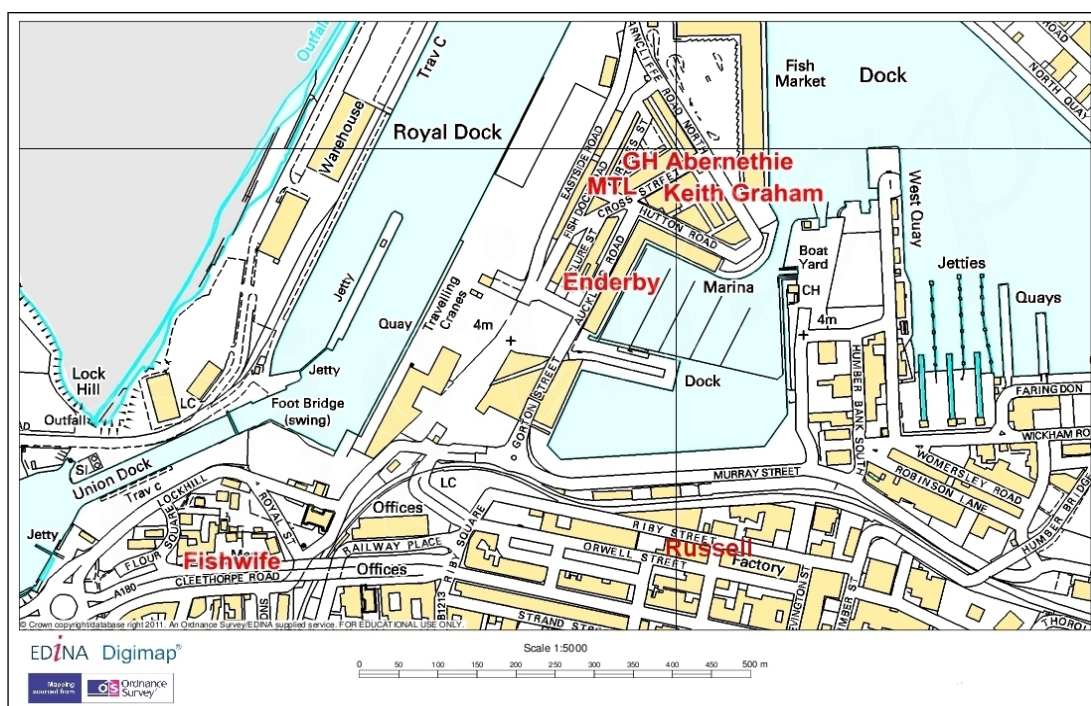


Figure 6.4: Location of the traditional smoke-houses on the Docks.³⁶⁷



³⁶⁷ The Russell Fish Processing and Smoking Factory is owned by Seachill (the newest member of the Group).

Plate 6.7: Keith Graham with GH Abernethie in the background.



“There's a physical network at Grimsby – we're all in competition but we're all working together as well. We source the sawdust from the same place. We all use the same transport system. We buy at the fish market [the auction] which encourages fish to come to the market because the people who are selling the fish get a good price. If we get a good price then they get a good price. You've got to have a critical mass. We all need each other for the whole system to work otherwise you wouldn't have a market and you wouldn't have a transport system.

This integrated system centres on the auction which is located at the heart of the Grimsby smoked fish industry. The smokers' ability to investigate the quality of the imported fish permits an unmediated connection to the raw material. Mark Wheatley thinks that the auction is core to Grimsby and prefers to “support the market because without that we haven't got a job.” He is concerned that if all fish was sent directly to Grimsby-based companies and avoided the auction then the town is likely to become like Fleetwood (in Lancashire) or North Shields (in Tyneside) whose fish markets

closed due to the lack of participants.³⁶⁸ However, there is some dissatisfaction about the auction procedure. The smokers argue that they are provided with insufficient information in advance. Ian Button prefers Faroese fish and explains that:

“The way we [MTL] work – we need 'X' amount [of fish] every single day. A lot of mine is pre-sold. I know now roughly what I will sell next Tuesday so I need a constant supply. You don't get enough forward information so we don't know what's on Grimsby market tomorrow – 24 hours before [a visit]. Until we get out there: we don't know the quality. We [MTL] only buy the best available. Unfortunately the best available on the Grimsby market isn't always good enough. So – because of that – we import mainly from the Faroe Islands. I've got a very good relationship with a couple of companies [there]. I still buy the bulk of my fish on the Grimsby market but I can't work just off there. There's not enough consistency in the quality.”³⁶⁹

I attended the auction as a guest of Richard Enderby and his brother George. It took place in a spacious hall where dozens of varieties of fish were stacked in containers. Purchasers congregate around the type of fish they desire and wait for the auctioneer. The Enderby brothers and I waited near the boxes of haddock. George was responsible for the negotiations which took only a couple of minutes (see Plate 6.8). The successful purchaser places cards which display the company name in their boxes to signify ownership (see Plate 6.9). Propinquity between the auction and the Enderby smoke-house allows the fish to arrive within minutes.

The Group argue that the local climatic conditions have allowed them to stay in business. Political and health concerns about air pollution threaten industries that generate smoke. The smokers believe that Grimsby's coastal location has allowed its smoke-houses to continue production while those in London were forced to close to reduce pollution. This makes the agglomeration of smoke-houses unique to Grimsby. The local weather conditions are therefore essential as they allow the ongoing production of traditional smoked fish. A less windy climate would have led to the closure of the smoking industry as pollutants would have descended on the town. The winds also blow smoke out to sea rather than directing it into the town. The fish are imported but the weather is localised. Richard Enderby reviews the conditions he argues are unique to Grimsby:

³⁶⁸ Mark Wheatley (GH Abernethie), 24/08/11.

³⁶⁹ Ian Button (MTL Fish Curers), 24/08/11.

Plate 6.8: The fish auction in progress.



Plate 6.9: Haddock purchased by Richard and George Enderby at the auction.



“The niche thing about Grimsby is why we've got a cluster of smoke-houses left where other places haven't because at one time there used to be loads of smokers in London. London's just too hot. There's no air in London. Grimsby: it's always windy and you need wind to draw the fires up and it's always cool. It's several degrees cooler here than inland. It's dry as well. It has very low rainfall. We've got cold dry winds, cool temperatures in the summertime, mainly dry weather in the wintertime, and that all helps with the traditional smoking process. If you tried to set up a traditional smoke-house in London – you wouldn't be able to manage. They [local government] wouldn't allow you to build it because there would be so much smoke billowing everywhere whereas – because there's constant wind out here – smoke just goes into the North Sea. Grimsby's the only place left with a cluster of smoke-houses.³⁷⁰ We're [the traditional smokers] just trying to keep up the tradition that goes back 150 years.”³⁷¹

The conditions within Grimsby allow the smokers to perpetuate their traditional production methods. The two main factors are the 'industrial' atmosphere and specific weather conditions. These attributes are supplemented by PGI status. However, protected status is unable to automatically resolve the difficulties that exist during the creation of any foodstuff. The very 'nature' of the traditional smoked fish process prevents the full exploitation of the PGI.

VI. Factors Restricting the Commercialisation of the Protected Geographical Indication.

The producers of each PFN could theoretically charge higher prices than was the case prior to protection as the PGI officiates that their food is exceptional. However, the rationale articulated by the Grimsby producers was that of cultural protection. The Group do not suggest that their motivation was to generate profits. Yet any potential economic benefits of the PGI are diminished by the traditional production method. The output of smoked fish is constrained by the number of chimneys. It is impossible

³⁷⁰ There are traditional smoke-houses elsewhere like the Tregida Traditional Cornish Smokehouse but they are individual establishments rather than clusters as in Grimsby

³⁷¹ Richard Enderby (Alfred Enderby), 23/08/11.

to arbitrarily erect new chimneys because of the dearth of space inside the smoke-houses (see Plate 6.10). David Atkinson explains why protected status has not encouraged supermarkets (other than Waitrose) to stock PGI fish:

“Tesco's will sell 65 tonnes of smoked fish on a big week. If they wanted all that to be traditional smoked Grimsby fish – there's nobody that could handle that capacity. So the majority of what they [the supermarkets] do is smoked in kilns. You can look at the others [traditional smokers] and see how much fish you can get in a chimney and you times it by the number of chimneys and that's your capacity in the night. I look upon the smoke-houses as like running a guest-house and I've got 16 bedrooms. When they're full, they're full.”³⁷²

It became clear that the fundamental 'problem' for the Group is that the smoking procedure is, indeed, traditional. It is a labour intensive industry. There is no computerisation and limited mechanisation. Aluminium 'speats' have replaced those of wood but the chimneys remain traditional. Another factor which may reduce commercial opportunities is the physical appearance of the smoke-houses which will concern supermarket buyers who are used to modernised workplaces. A traditional producer who provided a small volume of fish each month would still have to abide by numerous time-consuming requirements demanded by the supermarkets. The PGI (and the annual inspection) do not apparently translate into a form of quality assurance which satisfies retailers. Ian Button indicates the limits to modernisation and summarises with an amusing anecdote:

“Now modern technology – there's nothing it can do to help us. The only difference now is that they [historically] did it [the smoking] with wooden speats. We now use metal speats because they're more hygienic and that is the only difference. It's the beauty and the curse of it. The beauty is that it's exactly the same and it's a traditional method. The curse is we now work 12 hours a day. That's why I'm passionate that we've got the PGI. I went to Pétrus [restaurant] in London. [The famous chef] Marcus Wareing [was there] and we got taken around the kitchens – this was shortly after we got the PGI – and he [Wareing] said: 'What do you do?' I said: 'I'm a fish merchant dealing mainly in smoked fish.' He said: 'That's interesting

³⁷² David Atkinson (The Fishwife), 24/08/11.

Plate 6.10: External view of the six Alfred Enderby chimneys.



because we use a bit of smoked fish. Could you leave details?' and I said: 'We actually sell everything I produce' and my wife said to me: 'Why didn't you leave your details?' and I said: 'Because if they were to come here and walk around the building they'd get the shock of their lives because it's not gleaming stainless steel'."³⁷³

The situation for the traditional smokers appears similar to that of the viticulturists revealed by Daniel Gade's (2004) study of Cassis wine. He explains that terroir suggests conventions of stability, tradition, perpetuity, and local engagement. The performance of these attributes prevents viticulturists from using new technologies. The Cassis regulation states that all grapes must be hand-picked yet this procedure actually increases its value as hand-picking is demonstrative of tradition which is a 'sellable' concept. Similarly, the 'cost' of the traditional smoking procedure is its exclusive status. I do not think that the smokers engage in what Angela Tregar (2003) refers to as the 'revalorisation' of previously dormant techniques. She notes the revival of the artisanal procedure which creates the traditional Lancashire cheese

³⁷³ Ian Button (MTL Fish Curers), 24/08/11.

'Singletons Dairy' and the traditional Cheshire cheese 'Appleton'. Tregear also discusses 'pseudo-revalorisation' which occurs when contemporary methods of production are designed to evoke images of traditional methods. However, the smokers are not revalorising forgotten techniques of yesteryear because they still use the traditional methods.³⁷⁴ Nor are they creating new models which are camouflaged with an old-fashioned feel. A novel aspect to this case which helps to explain the lack of modernisation is the smokers' use of listed building status. All the smoke-houses are Grade II³⁷⁵ listed buildings³⁷⁶ and physical modernisation would be unlawful if it failed to preserve the current appearance and structure.³⁷⁷ The creation of new chimneys would be an unacceptable alteration. Listed status could potentially be used as a promotional tool to signify heritage although no producer mentioned this possibility.

It can be argued that, the above limitations notwithstanding, the PGI is, in fact, designed to increase the Group's revenue. This could happen in three ways. First, the PGI prevents Grimsby-based mechanical smokers from using the 'traditional smoked' name. This was the main rationale for protection. Second, protected status operates as a publicity mechanism which differentiates the Group's fish from those of their mechanical rivals. This occurs in a selective fashion and is profitably explained by Andy Pike's (2009b: 626) research into the geographies of brands which reveals that "competition and standardization in globalization markets reduces uniqueness and stimulates demands for authenticity and provenance." Third, the PGI could allow the smokers to charge higher prices for their now-protected product. This potential is rejected by the smokers. They argue that this is not the intention of the PGI even though the fish has become more specialised due to protected status. The Group argue that the PGI functions as a defensive mechanism rather than an opportunity to increase prices. However, their control over the 'traditional smoked' name does allow their members to exclusively use this valuable brand. Ian Button believes that the PGI's remit is to operate as a mark of superiority:

"It [the PGI] was an opportunity to prove that what we do in the traditional method is far superior to the kiln curing. My customers understand that it's [the traditional method] better

³⁷⁴ There have been some developments: David Atkinson, for example, has purchased what is known as a 'contact plate freezer' which systematically freezes dozens of boxes of smoked fish. This makes packaging the smoked fish more efficient but does not modify the production mechanism itself. The GTFS booklet (2001: 13) explains that the staff at Alfred Enderby appreciate that "with the world changing ever faster the fact that they appear unchanging has great appeal. This, however, is not really the case as they are always looking to improve but without compromising the integrity of what they do."

³⁷⁵ English Heritage point out that "Grade II buildings are nationally important and of special interest; 92% of all listed buildings are in this class and it is the most likely grade of listing."

³⁷⁶ The MTL Fish Curers listing is located at www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-479268-mtl-medal-fisheries-fish-processing-and-

³⁷⁷ Fish Smokers' Legacy Secured For the Future, *This is Grimsby*, 28 November 2011.

but it's all right understanding it – you're not really allowed to go around telling everyone that yours is better. So I just thought that [the PGI] made it official that a recognised stamp of approval was given to us. It's bloody hard work. It's the same everyday – we're up at four o'clock in the morning – we're doing 12 hours a day. It does tend to be frustrating when there's another [mechanical] way that's a lot quicker but not as good. From a financial point of view – it [the PGI] makes no difference to me. I've got a customer base I've been dealing with for a long time – [hypothetically] all of a sudden I say: 'You're still getting the same product but of course we've got this recognition [PGI] so I'd like an extra pound a kilo.' It just didn't ring true – so financially it's no better.”³⁷⁸

The smokers conceive of fish as a 'wild' product. They must factor in multiple inconsistencies 'at home' (like the weather) and 'at sea' (such as the availability of fish). These deviations are constructed as a challenge to be overcome. A stereotypical perspective might assume that traditional methods of production permit a level of variability. The smokers, however, reject this argument and believe that their skills are required to create a consistent outcome.

VII. Traditional Production Methods as a Form of Quality Control.

The Group claim that their traditional methods produce a standardised outcome. The producers of a food whose creation is dependent on multiple interconnected variables are less likely able to benefit financially from protected status because the PFN network would collapse if one variable became troublesome. The smokers believe that successful smoking is dependent on overcoming variabilities of the local climate, temperature, humidity, and rainfall. The PGI states that “the knowledge built up over years of smoking fish in the port is essential in anticipating these changes [in conditions]. In order to smoke the fish successfully the fish smoker has to allow for the many variables of fish, season, and weather. In Grimsby generations of expertise enables the traditional fish smoker to produce a consistent quality product by touch and eye alone.”³⁷⁹ The smokers' skills must transcend the weather conditions which prevent the creation of a uniform product.³⁸⁰ The production of PGI fish requires a regular supply of cod and haddock which is dependent on

³⁷⁸ Ian Button (MTL Fish Curers), 24/08/11.

³⁷⁹ PGI Regulation Section 4.6.

innumerable factors including the season (as fish spawn in the summer and are thinner and less desirable), the Icelandic quota system (which runs from September to September and means that many trawlers will have fulfilled their annual quota by the summer),³⁸¹ the weather (which affects the ability to fish), and the political situation (such as the Icelandic banking crisis of 2008-2011 which encouraged Icelandic fishermen to fillet their fish in order to support the collapsing economy rather than send it to Grimsby to be processed). Despite these inconsistencies Steve Millson is adamant that:

“There's no question about it: the traditional method of smoking fish gives a far better product than more modern methods like AFOS³⁸² [a mechanical kiln manufacturer]. The thing about AFOS is that you can do it [the smoking] quicker. You can use chemical methods. So for companies with high demand – high volumes – if they want to get it [the fish] through the system very quickly: two or three hours in a kiln – and job done. You tend to get variability in the levels of smoke and variability in the levels of salt. Doing it traditionally where you actually hang the fish in a chimney for 12 to 14 hours in a much more slow smoking process – we would argue and a lot of the retailers would argue – you get a far better product: more consistent.”³⁸³

One concern for the traditional smokers is how the British public perceives fish. The days when quality fish was a cheap source of protein have long since ended. The smokers think that the inconsistent character of 'battered' or 'breaded' fish affects the perception of their product. They want to create a consistent outcome and believe this aspiration is possible. They cannot control consumer tastes but they can encourage consumers to purchase a product of consistent quality. Steve Millson's perspective is that consistency will encourage repeat sales and that quality is – as befits a geographically protected name – intimately connected to Grimsby:

³⁸⁰ These inconsistencies affect the price of the fish. I informed Mark Wheatley that the website of Grimsby Fish Market showed that the price for large plaice on 17 August 2011 ranged from £3.00 to £3.30 per kilogram. Wheatley then informed me that he paid a mere £1.80 per kilogram for a batch of large plaice that very morning (24 August 2011).

³⁸¹ The 2011-2012 cod quota was 177,000 tons while the haddock quota was 40,000 tons.

³⁸² The AFOS “large kilns [...] work beautifully and are equipped with the unique AFOS horizontal air flow system providing effective management of temperature, humidity, smoke density, process time and energy consumption. This proven technique enables perfect drying, smoking and cooking of all food products and is the most effective and efficient system available.” (www.afosgroup.com/food/viewproduct.asp?a=122&s=&ss=)

³⁸³ Steve Millson (Sealord Caistor), 24/08/11.

“The biggest issue we've [Sealord] had with seafood over the years has been the variability – the inconsistency of quality. So we are taking away those variables and that inconsistency so that the consumer can have faith and confidence that when they buy that bit of fish – every time they buy – it's going to be exactly the same. They're never going to be disappointed. It has taken years and years to get to that [level] because it's the most difficult thing [smoking] and there's an art behind it. It's not just about getting fish flown in from Iceland and sticking it in a chimney. What are the weather conditions? What is the fish like? Is it in season or out of season? There are so many factors and to be able to actually give that consistency linked to provenance – the two go hand in hand. So if I buy Grimsby fish, I know it's going to be good. If I buy Scottish salmon, I know it's going to be good. If I buy Champagne, I know it's going to be good.”³⁸⁴

The smokers' desire to create a consistent outcome is challenged by the elements. The PGI states that Grimsby “has a maritime climate which means that although there are only small fluctuations in seasonal weather, on a day to day basis the weather can be changeable.”³⁸⁵ This variability is a direct threat to consistent quality. It is these quotidian transformations that make the smokers' quest for consistency so difficult. The temperature in the chimneys is affected by that in the smoke-houses which itself is influenced by the local climate. The fish will cook and flake and fall into the sawdust if the chimneys are too hot and be insufficiently smoked if they are too cold. The traditional smokers must therefore be attuned to nuances of weather. Richard Enderby informed me that the sawdust used to heat the chimneys is distributed by teaspoon in the summer and by shovel during the winter.³⁸⁶ The sawdust is compressed in summer to remove oxygen so that it burns more slowly whereas no such finesse is required in winter. The need to adapt to the changing weather conditions provides yet another example where the Group consider their techniques to differ from those of the mechanical smokers. Richard Enderby explains that:

“Today [23 August 2011] is a completely different day from yesterday. Yesterday was quite dry and sunny but today it's quite humid and damp. So when we light the fire [in the

³⁸⁴ Steve Millson (Sealord Caistor), 24/08/11.

³⁸⁵ PGI Regulation Section 4.6.

³⁸⁶ Richard Enderby (Alfred Enderby), 23/08/11.

chimneys] tonight it would be different from how we did it yesterday. Winter's even more different than summer and the fish are changing constantly so you have to adapt to that and its always with the knowledge that you have built up over years of experience that is unique to the area. There's so much understanding and knowledge based on what we do whereas in the kiln you can just bung it [the fish] in, turn a few valves, and leave it [for a few hours].”³⁸⁷

These skills operate on the raw material which – as mentioned – is imported. I now investigate the political and economic relationship between Grimsby and Iceland. It analyses events from the past (the Cod Wars), investigates the present (the Icelandic financial crisis), and attempts to predict the future (what might happen if Iceland joins the EU). The interconnection between Grimsby and Iceland reveals that the traditional smoking industry is dependent on issues over which the Group has no influence.

VIII. Cod Wars, Financial Disaster, and (Possibly) Common Fisheries.

The Republic of Iceland is located at the heart of the Grimsby traditional smoked fish industry. It is from this country that the bulk of the cod and haddock originate which means that the political, economic, and cultural affairs of this sparsely-populated island nation are of paramount concern to the Group. Grimsby should not be viewed as the passive recipient of Icelandic hegemony yet there is an unquestionable imbalance in the 'power-geometry' as Icelandic ships catch the fish in their territorial waters and determine the locations to which it is dispatched. The traditional smoked fish industry is thus dependent on the socio-economic relationship between Grimsby and Iceland which is in turn affected by wider political and economic processes. No system is disconnected from the broader processes and structural flows in which it operates. The 'local' and 'global' are not disembodied systems but an integrated structure in which spatial scales 'bleed' into each other (Massey 1994; Cresswell, 1996). The Grimsby case demonstrates how 'local' fish production is affected by wider 'global' processes. The successful application of the PGI is dependent on a number of ostensibly external factors. Traditional smoked fish cannot be consistently made to an unimpeachable quality should production be negatively affected by apparently unrelated political or economic actions. This case therefore provides an opportunity to uncover the political aspects that are inherent in the GI system but rarely

³⁸⁷ Richard Enderby (Alfred Enderby), 23/08/11.

acknowledged. All protected names have some type of political dimension which – whether anodyne or fractious – is not designed to be on display. Protected names are conceptualised as representations of place-based authenticity rather than outcomes of political acts or compromises. The politicisation may be within a country – demonstrated in the Melton Mowbray case by the conflict between in-place producers and Northern Foods – or between one or more nations indicated by the friction between Greek and non-Greek Feta producers. The political disagreements in this case involve the UK and Iceland and can be usefully illustrated by three processes.

The first issue refers to the political turbulence which became known as the 'Cod Wars'. The conflict began as long ago as September 1958 when the Icelandic government arbitrarily expanded the fishing waters around their coastline from four to 12 nautical miles. This meant that non-Icelandic trawlers that fished inside the limit were now violating Icelandic law. The First Cod War ended in September 1961 when the British government acquiesced to the new limits. The Second Cod War occurred in September 1972 when the coastal limits were expanded to 50 nautical miles. The Third Cod War commenced in November 1975 when the limit was extended to 200 nautical miles (Triplow *et al.*, 2011: 140-142).³⁸⁸ The continual expansion involved the 'privatisation' of formerly communal waters and the exclusion of foreign vessels. The Icelandic government had, in effect, 'nationalised' previously 'stateless' cod and haddock. Jennifer Bailey (1996) indicates that waters previously considered *terra nullius*³⁸⁹ (and the fish within) were transformed into Icelandic 'property'.

The British government (not to mention the Grimsby fleet) were less than enamoured by these amplified boundaries. The Cod Wars were ostensibly about the sustainable development of Icelandic fish stocks but underlying this supposed fisheries management regime was a political undercurrent. The Icelandic government threatened to close the NATO air base at Keflavik (on the West coast) which the Americans regarded as essential to their governance of the Cold War. The US did not wish to alienate the government of this geographically strategic position. They were interested in the Cold War not the Cod War. Gudni Thorlacius Jóhannesson (2004: 548-549) comments that “in the midst of the Cold War, Icelandic contentment mattered more to Washington than an uncompromising defence of narrow territorial waters and the United States put pressure on Britain to bring an end to the action by the trawling industry.” Icelandic politicians threatened to close the base to ensure that

³⁸⁸ This limit would not be considered excessive today as the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (1982) recognises a 200 nautical mile Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). However, in 1975, this expansion was significant.

³⁸⁹ An international legal term which describes territory not subjected to the sovereignty of any nation.

American political might would support their expanded boundaries. Gísli Pálsson suggests (1998: 284) that an ostensibly ecological event was politicised because the “Icelanders claimed national ownership of the fishing stocks in coastal waters, in an attempt to carve a territorial as well as a symbolic space for themselves in the larger world. The culmination of these events was frequently described by Icelanders as the final stage of the Icelandic nation's struggle for independence.”³⁹⁰ The Cod Wars were about territorial dominance over what had become a contested space. Bruce Mitchell (1976: 137), in his analysis of the Icelandic-British dispute, stresses that “decisions will be understood only if political aspects – some obvious, some subtle – are identified and considered in resource management, for political considerations with little direct relationship to an issue often shape final decisions.” This is precisely what occurred when the US pressured the British to accept the 200 nautical mile limit. It is of note that overfishing was not, in fact, eradicated by the exclusion of foreign traffic and Thórólfur Matthíasson (2003: 15), in his investigation of Icelandic fisheries management, suggests that “it was with considerable surprise that Icelanders learned that the exclusion of foreigners from Icelandic waters did not put an end to overfishing.”

The effects of the Cod Wars devastated the Grimsby fleet and smoking industry. The decision to accept the new limits decimated the Grimsby trawlers whose extensive fishing grounds permanently vanished. David Atkinson reminisces that there were about 300 fish merchants in 1974; only between 60 and 70 are left today.³⁹¹ The European Commission (2010a: 31) issued a report about the socio-economic prospects for Grimsby which claimed that “there are lasting psychological or spiritual effects caused by this change in the 'purpose' or 'role' of the town in the collective imagination. Public perception of the town both internally and externally is still bound up with nostalgia for the boom days of fish capture.” Mark Wheatley vividly recalls the Second and Third Cod Wars:

“We [the British] were thrown out [of Icelandic waters] and the ships were all decommissioned. Have you seen the pictures of the fleet? It's unbelievable – four deep out in the dock from end to end. We were thrown out completely and we've had to source the fish from elsewhere: Faroe, Norway. Eventually the Icelanders needed foreign currency to keep their country going. The fish industry is their main source of income. We [the British government] allowed them to land some of their

³⁹⁰ Iceland achieved political independence from Denmark in 1944.

³⁹¹ David Atkinson (The Fishwife), 24/08/11.

trawlers here and then – after several years – it [the system] became containerised³⁹² fishing.”³⁹³

The Cod Wars interfered with the business model of all Grimsby fish processors. The smokers were forced to change their preferred fish from cod to pollack³⁹⁴ and whiting³⁹⁵ in order to have some kind of product to sell and hence stay in business. The kiln operators – at a time when mechanical smoking was coming into vogue – were able to smoke a variety of fish whereas the traditional smokers required material that was the correct size for the chimneys. They could not 'hot' smoke during this period because they did not possess the funds necessary to purchase mechanical kilns.³⁹⁶ Further, they had no wish to change their 'cold' smoking procedure. The effect of the Cod Wars means that Icelandic trawlers now catch 'Grimsby' cod and haddock. The fish would probably not have previously originated from Grimbarian or even British waters (due to over-fishing) but would at least have been caught by British trawlers. The current situation means that the quality of captured fish is entirely dependent on Icelandic fishermen. This was not the case prior to the conflict. If the Icelandic government had not expanded their marine boundaries or if the British authorities had aggressively resisted then it is likely that the cod and haddock smoked at Grimsby would today be caught by British ships. The smokers' traumatic memories of the 1970s have barely faded and the recollection of this bleak period has solidified a collective desire to prevent such destabilisation from happening again. The PGI helps to achieve this goal as it stabilises the traditional method. Richard Enderby details the insecurity caused by the Cod Wars:

“We [Grimsby] went through a number of years when we didn't know what the future held. For 100 years we're getting fish from our trawlers going to Iceland and then – suddenly it stopped. At one time we were just smoking anything we could get our hands on and that's when the kiln guys really had an advantage because they were doing hot smoked mackerel and stuff like that which we couldn't do. The big shift was after the Cod Wars when people [smokers] didn't know the future and kilns were just a lot more versatile and there was a big switch-

³⁹² This occurs when fish are tightly packed on the trawlers in iced containers with multiple boxes stacked on top of one another.

³⁹³ Mark Wheatley (GH Abernethie), 24/08/11.

³⁹⁴ A white fish considered to be cheaper than cod and haddock.

³⁹⁵ Whiting is similar to cod but is somewhat less expensive.

³⁹⁶ Richard Enderby (e-mail 22/11/11).

over to hot smoked mackerel when cod and haddock dried up.
So a lot of guys [smokers] closed down.”³⁹⁷

The second aspect involves the changing relationship between Iceland and Grimsby. Iceland became the controlling actor as a result of the Cod Wars. The connection between Iceland and Grimsby was generally stable despite the power imbalance (as there is no reason why unequal relations should be unstable). However, the relationship has recently been re-negotiated because of the Icelandic financial crisis (Derudder *et al.*, 2011) whose effects on the traditional smoking trade should not be underestimated. The disaster began when the major Icelandic banks became unable to refinance their debts. By 2008, this deficit approached a gargantuan €50 billion (in a population of a mere 320,000). The relationship between two industries – fish smoking and speculative banking – that might otherwise appear unrelated ably demonstrates the interaction between disparate forms of trading in the contemporary global financial system. The crisis meant that the Icelandic government was desperate to retain capital internally (Matthíasson, 2008). Their liberal banking experiment had failed and the government needed to divert capital to more sustainable industries.³⁹⁸ They wanted the maximum amount of fish processing (such as filleting) to occur within Iceland and applied a five percent tax on exports of unprocessed fish to help influence this goal.³⁹⁹

Numerous British public sector bodies (like County Councils) had optimistically invested at least £900 million in the once-booming Icelandic economy. The Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act of 2001 – originally designed to punish terrorism – was invoked to freeze Icelandic assets in the UK.⁴⁰⁰ This policy forbade wire transfers to Iceland. The new regulation was problematic for British businesses that engaged in regular transactions with Iceland. No fish would be exported to Grimsby if the Icelandic suppliers were not paid. A central government policy designed to claw-back unwise investments had the unintended effect of jeopardising what remained of the traditional smoking industry. Mark Wheatley articulates his not inconsiderable frustration:

“This fish that I bought today – I will be billed for that tomorrow afternoon. The Icelandic agents will have our money within two days. The quickest payers in the world we are.

³⁹⁷ Richard Enderby (Alfred Enderby), 23/08/11.

³⁹⁸ Iceland Companies Urged to Process All Fish at Home, *Fishupdate.com*, 30 March 2011.

³⁹⁹ Iceland Adds Weight Surcharge to Container Fish, *Fishupdate.com*, 21 December 2009.

⁴⁰⁰ UK Freezing of Landsbanki Assets 'As Damaging to Iceland as Treaty of Versailles', *Daily Telegraph*, 06 July 2009.

These [showing me the paperwork] are the bills for my fish for last week. I give our [Grimsby Fish Merchants] Association a cheque for this [amount]. That money can be wired straight to Iceland [by the Association]. When the Icelandic crisis was on – the British government in their 'wisdom' blocked any money from being sent.⁴⁰¹ But if they blocked the money – we haven't got any fish and we've got no industry. So our Association alongside our chief exec[utive], Austin Mitchell, our MP, spoke with the Minister at DEFRA and said: 'We've got to pay them [Icelandic trawler owners] otherwise they can't pay their wages and the blokes can't go to sea and then we won't get the fish'. We in this town need the fish. The number of people employed by it."⁴⁰²

The workers at the Keith Graham smoke-house (owned by Sealord) do not fillet the imported fish. Sealord's Icelandic suppliers perform this skilled and time-consuming job. This means that only one of the three components of the PGI – production (the sourcing), processing (the smoking), or preparation (the filleting) – remains in Grimsby. The preparation aspect has been entirely outsourced.⁴⁰³ It is the smoking process which justifies protected status but filleting in Iceland does reduce the 'Grimsbyness' of the fish. The PGI clearly benefits producers that have a more tenuous link to place. Icelandic filleting is beneficial to Sealord because there are limited employees in Grimsby who possess the skills necessary to perform this demanding task. Angela King explains that: "From a time element – it's a huge benefit because you have to have a huge factory full of filleters filleting your fish in time to get it smoked and in the chimneys for two o'clock in the afternoon and you would struggle volume-wise to produce that amount of fish ready for smoking."⁴⁰⁴ Sealord started filleting in Iceland before the crisis although the financial disaster encouraged this model to proliferate. The other traditional smokers are, however, too small to outsource (assuming they wanted to which is not the case). It can be argued that outsourcing denies local workers the opportunity to perform their skills. Mark Wheatley, for example, is unhappy about operators who "buy blocks of frozen-at-sea fillets that have been done [filleted] on-board and they just bring them in and the block is already formed. It's got

⁴⁰¹ The banks were apparently confused about which transactions should have been disallowed. 'Normal' transactions (like paying for imported fish) should have continued as usual but a misunderstanding meant they were temporarily blocked.

⁴⁰² Mark Wheatley (GH Abernethie), 24/08/11.

⁴⁰³ The Grimsby PGI has changed to allow filleted fish (rather than just whole fish) to be sourced. Amendment Application Traditional Grimsby Smoked Fish.

⁴⁰⁴ Angela King (Keith Graham), 24/08/11.

skinless boneless fish in it and they band-saw the block into fish fingers. The actual process in Grimsby is what's called a 'secondary process' because the 'primary process' has been done on-board the ship.”⁴⁰⁵ Steve Millson explains that – in Sealord's business model – Iceland specialises at filleting while Grimsby focuses on smoking:

“What is tending to change – if it goes down the route that the Icelandic government are trying to pursue – is that they will process more product [fish] in Iceland so there will be less whole fish arriving in the UK. That doesn't affect our [Sealord's] business because we're already buying all processed [fish]. It may affect the markets where they rely on whole fish which is why there's a drive at the moment to encourage more Norwegian fish [imports] because they [UK fish processors] can see there will be less Icelandic whole fish arriving here. There's less filleting labour in this area now than there was 10, 15, 20, 30 years ago and it's [the skills] not being passed down.”⁴⁰⁶

The third element is that Iceland applied to join the EU in July 2009⁴⁰⁷ (Clark and Jones, 2012). All EU members have to abide by the body of law known as the *acquis communautaire*.⁴⁰⁸ A significant issue is whether the Icelandic government is willing to adhere to the Common Fisheries Policy (CFP). Their membership application states that “Icelandic experts placed emphasis on the special characteristics of the Icelandic fishing industry, which is significantly more important economically for Iceland than [for] any member State of the EU. They described the achievements of the fisheries management system, which has been more successful in Iceland than within the EU.” Richard Enderby is confident that Iceland will be allowed an exemption from the CFP and is unconcerned about EU membership.⁴⁰⁹ His optimism may be misplaced as the most recent statement from the EU reads that “Iceland's fisheries policy is not in line with the *acquis*. Existing restrictions in the fisheries sector on freedom of establishment, services, and capital movements are not in line with the *acquis*.”⁴¹⁰ It does not mention anything about an opt-out from the CFP. However, even if Iceland is granted an exemption, at some future point they may be 'encouraged' to join the CFP once they have been comprehensively integrated into all other facets of the EU system.

⁴⁰⁵ Mark Wheatley (GH Abernethie), 24/08/11.

⁴⁰⁶ Steve Millson (Sealord Caistor), 24/08/11.

⁴⁰⁷ The Kingdom of Norway is not an EU member but does belong to the European Economic Area (EEA). The Faroe Islands – while politically part of the Kingdom of Denmark which is an EU member – is not itself an EU member.

⁴⁰⁸ This comprises the accumulated law of the EU.

⁴⁰⁹ Richard Enderby (e-mail 12/10/11).

⁴¹⁰ Iceland 2012 Progress Report Section 4.13.

There are several reasons why the smokers should be concerned about Icelandic adherence to the CFP. It operates by restricting total allowable catches, sets limits to fish trawls in specific areas, and insists on minimum catch sizes. Tim Daw and Tim Gray (2005: 189), in their study of the CFP, explain that its deficiencies arise from “the translation of scientific discovery into practical policies [which] is often slow and incomplete, as many other political, social, and economic factors come into play.” Icelandic membership of the EU might restrict the supply of cod and haddock which would raise prices in Grimsby or alternatively it could have little or no impact. However, if Iceland becomes an EU member (which seems likely), then the smokers will soon learn whether membership will modify the current relationship between Iceland and Grimsby and, if so, with what effects.

IX. Plenty More Fish in the Sea?

This chapter covered several ideas pertinent to Grimsby Traditional Smoked Fish. These include the perception that 'traditional' smoked fish are superior to 'mechanical' fish (while also providing a more consistent output); the use of heritage to connect Grimsby to traditional methods of production; constructions of the 'natural' (even though dyeing has effectively become 'traditional'); the outsourcing of skilled labour to Iceland; the vitality and critical mass of Grimsby-based industries; factors affecting the economic potential of the PGI; the subjugation of inconsistent variables (like the weather); and the triptych of Icelandic issues (the Cod Wars, financial meltdown, and the CFP). In this conclusive section I select two issues which present the most informative aspects of this case: the way in which the smokers use the idea of 'place' and how Grimsby's industrial culture affects producers' operations in the protected zone.

The first point refers to how 'place' has been enrolled by the traditional smokers. They sensibly qualify protected status with reference to their production methods as a connection between the fish and the waters of Grimsby is entirely absent. The smokers are forced to import fish because the legacy of over-fishing means that the North Sea contains insufficient cod and haddock. This case explores how PFNs can be awarded based on production techniques alone. This is in no way illicit as the PGI regulations allow foods to possess a limited connection to place. It is sufficient for the preparation (filleting) and processing (smoking) to occur in-place. Indeed it is acceptable when only the smoking is performed in Grimsby. This is because PGIs are informed by the

'German' model which protects reputation rather than location and thus legitimises sourcing raw materials from out-of-place. This form of certification understandably appeals to producers who wish to or are forced to source from outside their zones of protection. Almost half of all EU PFNs are PGIs as of January 2013 (see Table 1.3). This suggests that 'place' is less important than production methods and complements the idea that human *terroir* has replaced 'natural' conditions as the primary justification for protection. In effect the 'craft' of human skills has superseded the 'science' of *terroir*. This allows producers to have a more tenuous connection to the protected area than would occur in a scheme where physical conditions form the basis of protected status. The flexibility of the PGI model makes it easier for place-based producers to acquire protected status and allows national governments to certify more PFNs.

The second element explains how the Group benefits from their milieu of production. The smokers' are independently owned (with the exception of Sealord Caistor), collectively source the necessary materials (like the sawdust), and have a specialised production model. The town contains numerous related industries which provide refrigeration, packaging, and transport. Trust between producers derives from cultural norms, collective representation, and pursuit of the common good. The smokers' shared culture is based on their adherence to the PGI, the Group is the representative body, and personal and collective interests merge through the 'club' structure. Each PFN is defined in its regulation but manufacturers require appropriate conditions to consistently produce outcomes of high quality. The 'industrial' conditions at Grimsby help to ensure that production is consistent and meets the obligatory standards set by the PGI. The localised conditions thus provide the smokers with stability. Traditional smoking is a trade where the nexus of multiple variables can harm production – the price of cod and haddock fluctuates, quality is inconsistent, the supply is variable, and relations with Iceland can be contentious. It is in precisely this type of industry that a place-based culture helps to ensure the profitable application of the protected name.

My investigation of the case studies has unveiled varying and inconsistent notions of place, boundaries, *terroir*, tradition, heritage, branding, quality, and authenticity. I allowed the producers – members of the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie Association, Stilton Cheesemakers' Association, and Grimsby Traditional Fish Smokers Group – to tell their 'story' which included their rationale for requesting protected status; whether the protected name has been economically and culturally beneficial;

and the constructions of place, boundaries, *terroir*, history, and authenticity they believe justifies their protected status. The concluding chapter addresses the research questions, explains my conceptual input, reveals recent regulatory changes to the British PFN structure, and details how GI supporters aim to increase their international influence.

Chapter VII

A 'Place' at the Table? Geographical Constructions and the Future of Place-Based Food Systems.

I. A Postprandial Conclusion.

The Melton Mowbray, Stilton, and Grimsby cases provide a rare in-depth investigation of the GI system as it currently operates in the UK. These illustrative studies reveal how constructions of place, boundaries, *terroir*, history, tradition, and authenticity initiate, sustain, and reproduce this increasingly prescriptive form of Intellectual Property (IP). I analysed the employment of these notions in the three case studies and will now use this final chapter to examine the more theoretical implications of this work. I use the evidence to answer the research questions in a manner that highlights the wider implications of each case and have selected the most interesting components of each example in order to achieve this goal. In particular I theorise about the multiple interpretations of authenticity and consider the way in which I conceptually understand the GI model and perceive its application. I also present some suggestions that could help reform the GI system. This idea seems particularly timely due to recent regulatory changes in the manner by which the Protected Food Names (PFN) system is applied in the UK. I conclude by detailing my concerns about the expansionary remit of GIs. Its practitioners are keen to influence the development industry in poorer countries and have even begun to demand that GIs replace existing trademarks. I initiate this chapter by explaining the reasons why place-based food producers applied for protected status.

II. Economic and Cultural Rationales for Protection.

The fieldwork chapters detailed the Melton Mowbray, Stilton, and Grimsby producers' rationales for the acquisition of protected status. I will shortly look at these economic and cultural motivations but it will first be useful to expose the genesis of the PFN system itself as its creation was not a 'natural' or 'rational' procedure but one that should be firmly contextualised within the European agri-political situation of the late 1980s. The PFN regime was developed at a time when EU politicians felt compelled to reform the inefficient subsidies allocated by the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) (Bergeaud-Blackler and Ferretti, 2006). The EU claimed that farmers who received

higher prices for their produce would require fewer subsidies. This change in policy moved away from funding the infamous 'butter mountains' and 'wine lakes' towards the quality turn which supported superior produce. This was compounded by the removal of many national agricultural tariff barriers under the auspices of the World Trade Organization (WTO). It was sensible for place-based producers who were no longer able to benefit from tariffs to acquire GI protection and thus 'add value' to their foods. South Korean Boseong green tea, for example, had been protected by tariffs which reached 514%. The removal of this trade barrier meant that cheap Chinese imports would undermine the Boseong name. The producers re-branded the place-based tea as a GI in order to maintain its price (Suh and MacPherson, 2007). Moreover, by this period, the international IP regime had started to allocate ownership rights to private bodies in what had formerly been unprotectable (public) property.⁴¹¹ This suggested that IP could successfully protect hitherto communal European place-names.

Every GI producer will appeal to some combination of four rationales. These are economic (to charge higher prices, to operate as an exclusionary device which prevents out-of-place producers from use of the geographical name, to develop a 'sign' that appeals to knowledgeable consumers, to create a gastro-tourism economy, and to promote development in lagging European rural areas or Less Developed Countries (LDCs)); cultural (to protect apparently traditional methods of production, to maintain an area's sense of place, and to ensure the survival of traditional skills); moral (to prevent 'exploitation' when the name is 'inauthentically' claimed by the producers of out-of-place foods); and consumer protection (to prevent purchasers from buying 'inauthentic' goods that masquerade as 'genuine'). Not all of these rationales were demonstrated in my cases. The Melton Mowbray manufacturers, for example, emphasise a moral justification as they consider the place-name to be 'their' IP which should be protected from 'outsiders'. The Stilton-makers regard protection as an axiomatic 'right' which has existed since the Certification Trademark (CTM) of 1966. The Grimsby smokers promote a cultural rationale as they are eager to distinguish their traditional methods from those of the mechanical kiln operators. I found it interesting that these producers often emphasised cultural rather than economic rationales for protection. This was surprising as the many academic studies of monopoly rents claim that exclusive control over a given name will encourage profit-minded producers to inflate prices. However, even if there is no desire to raise prices, producers still

⁴¹¹ An example which demonstrated the expansion of IP law in this period was the 1979 *Diamond vs. Chakrabarty* US Supreme Court case which determined for the first time that it was lawful to patent genetically modified organisms.

economically benefit as the exclusionary nature of the GI model prevents out-of-place manufacturers from use of these valuable geographical brand names.

The Melton Mowbray Pork Pie Association (MMPPA) uses protected status to brand the town. This has helped to create an economically viable tourist industry. This aim supplemented the MMPPA's more overt motivation of control over the 'Melton Mowbray' name. This tourism rationale reveals that economic gains not only derive from the retail prices of protected foods (although, as mentioned, this is not guaranteed) but additionally from an influx of tourist capital into locations where GIs are created. I am confident that protected status has achieved a connection between pie and place which is considerably more direct than the link between Stilton and the three counties of Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Nottinghamshire. Consumption of the past – both physical and conceptual – requires the narrative of these pies to be based on the accepted history of the Melton area which introduces the story of fox-hunting devotees digesting this meaty snack when out 'hard-riding'. The producers believe that uncured meat and a bow-shaped appearance accurately emulate this historical representation. The MMPPA would, no doubt, concur with David Harvey's (1996: 297-298) prescription that “people in places try to differentiate their place from other places and become more competitive (and perhaps antagonistic and exclusionary with respect to each other) in order to capture or retain capital investment. Within this process, the selling of place, using all the artifices of advertising and image construction that can be mustered has become of considerable importance.” The pies have been deliberately associated with an entrepreneurial vision of food festivals and pie awards. This is only possible if the pies are unique to the town and surrounding area otherwise any producer throughout the EU could lawfully make 'Melton Mowbrays'. It is Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) status that has enforced a strong and unreplicable bond between pies and place.

The MMPPA's aim is clearly reflective of David Bell and Gill Valentine's (1997: 147) assertion that “as regions seek to market themselves while simultaneously protecting themselves from the homogenizing forces of globalization, regional identity becomes enshrined in bottles of wine or hunks of cheese.” The MMPPA has designed their gastro-tourism industry to constitute more than the enjoyment of pies and other locally produced foods.⁴¹² Rather it provides an opportunity for tourist-consumers to achieve a deeper appreciation of how place informs the production of these localised consumables. This case suggests – as John Overton (2010: 761) proclaims in a

⁴¹² The best example is Melton Hunt Cake which was originally made – like the pies – for members of the local hunts. It comprises of almonds, cherries, currants, and sultanas.

viticultural context – that the “consumption of products branded in these ways [becomes], literally, the consumption of place. It is not just the physical act of consumption of a glass of wine that represents a place; it is also the consumption of the particular construction of that place as represented by industry capital, winemakers, advertising agencies, and wine writers and retailers.” Purchasers of these geographical pies are supposed to 'consume' the traditional connotations – fox-hunting, the market town ambience, and traditional England – that have been developed by a producer-constructed representation of Melton Mowbray.

The Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) allocated to Stilton Cheese ably demonstrates the geography of food safety. It was not only an extension of the Certification Trademark (CTM) but additionally stabilised the cheese's model of production. One major difference between the CTM and the PDO is that the latter codified a safety standard. All members of the Stilton Cheesemakers' Association (SCMA) had – in the aftermath of the 1989 *Listeria* outbreak – voluntarily agreed to pasteurise their milk although this resolution was not legally-binding. The PDO legally establishes that only pasteurised milk is acceptable. It regulates the geography of the cheese because it dictates how locally collected milk should be processed. This affects the *terroir* of Stilton because the pasteurisation process reduces the influence of the specific qualities of local milk. If the raw milk from farms in the three counties is, indeed, unique then pasteurisation will militate against its *terroir* properties. The rationale to pasteurise Stilton should be understood within the wider context of Britain's 'health and safety' culture. There have been several food scares in the last two decades (*Bovine spongiform encephalopathy*, *E. coli*, Foot-and-mouth disease, and *Salmonella*) and the political psyche is sensitive to the potential for bacteriological disaster (Enticott, 2003b). The three decades between the CTM of 1966 and the PDO of 1996 saw a national change in the political construction of healthiness (Paxson, 2008). What would once have been 'safe' was no longer so. An uneasy relationship between ideas of food safety and those of traditional methods had emerged. The knowledge that Stilton is pasteurised reduces producer and consumer anxiety. Producers consider it less likely that they will manufacture unhealthy Stilton while consumers are satisfied that they will eat safe cheese. The nexus between food and consumer fears reveals that this type of 'social anxiety' is commonplace. The solution is to annihilate the anxiety fomenting object. Peter Jackson and Jonathan Everts (2010) stress that this is easier to achieve when it is possible to eradicate the problem. They note that the H5N1 'bird flu' virus could be extirpated which reduced consumer fears. Similarly, the obligatory pasteurisation of Stilton (dictated by the PDO) is considered to

kill potentially harmful bacteria. Raw milk cheese may be safe but the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) is worried about the disaster – both epidemiological and political – that would erupt if another tranche of *Listeria* was attributed to unpasteurised Stilton.

The Grimsby smokers acquired PGI status to wrest control of the 'traditional smoked' name from mechanical kiln owners who had 'unfairly' adopted this marketable terminology. It is noteworthy that the GI structure was used to protect methods of production rather than obtain control over a bounded locale as for Melton Mowbray and Stilton. This case depicts an inconsistent use of the PFN system when compared to the previous examples and strongly demonstrates the divergence inherent in its present formulation. There is the 'French' component which argues that 'natural' *terroir* creates geographically specific products. This theory was formally initiated in early 20th century France when *terroir* exclusively applied to wine (Parry, 2008). Then there is the 'German' element which effectively bypasses geography with its focus on skilled production techniques (Gangjee, 2012). It is this 'German' aspect that is prioritised by the Grimsby PGI as the fish are sourced from distant waters which prevents an appeal to Grimsby as the location of the raw material. The PGI instead foregrounds the in-place skills – brining, filleting, and, of course, the traditional smoking procedure – which the smokers claim cannot be emulated elsewhere.

PFNs are designed to certify place-based foods but recent evidence suggests that they have some unexpected implications for place. Protected status is supposed to indicate that some combination of natural and human factors has created a superlative product that originates from a defined area. It can therefore be enrolled to help challenge proposals that seek to physically alter the locations of production. The Grimsby Docks, for example, are scheduled for major refurbishment.⁴¹³ This may initially sound positive yet many local workers wish to maintain the 'spirit' of the area – its sense of place – and are troubled by the modernisation proposals. The Grimsby Traditional Fish Smokers Group (GTFS) is at the forefront of the campaign to save the heritage and to this end has produced a DVD called *Grimsby Fish Docks: A Way Forward* (2011) which argues that the home of traditional smoking should maintain its industrial ambience. A related example applies to the famous 'Rhubarb Triangle' – home to the PDO Yorkshire Forced Rhubarb – which is under threat from a proposed housing development.⁴¹⁴ Defenders of the green belt have highlighted the Rhubarb's

⁴¹³ Heritage Buildings Should Go to Make Way for Enterprises – Mitchell, *This is Grimsby*, 30 December 2011.

⁴¹⁴ Rhubarb Triangle Land Could Be Lost to Housing, *Yorkshire Post*, 01 October 2010.

protected status to indicate the cultural importance of the coveted zone. Similarly, the government's recent attempt to apply Value-Added Tax (VAT) to Cornish Pasties failed in part due to their PGI status. The MP for North Cornwall even argued that all protected names should be exempt from VAT.⁴¹⁵ The government swiftly reversed its policy and the pasties remain VAT-free.⁴¹⁶ These examples suggest that – because PFNs are based on valorised places – they can be invoked to help stop policies which will harm protected locales.

These rationales for protection demonstrate that producers centralise a variety of motivations which are dependent upon product, place, and style of production. The Melton Mowbray case prioritises a combination of cultural and economic rationales, the Stilton example concerns the preservation of the existing boundaries and manner of production, while the Grimsby illustration almost entirely refers to the protection of cultural methods of production. Protected status is performed in defined places which are legally bounded. GI promoters claim that the qualities of these locations develop and sustain protected names and that such places should therefore be defended from challengers who wish to modify the established regulations.

III. Conceptions of 'Place' and 'Boundaries'.

Producers benefit from a geographically-based IP system because multiple companies use one place-name for their collective benefit. However, this study demonstrates that they inconsistently apply the idea of 'place'. It is supposedly bounded yet can be expediently amplified to incorporate distant locales. These applications make 'place' into whatever its creators desire at the moment of formal certification. The fixity of legally-defined GI boundaries contradicts the contemporary academic idea of borders as symbolic or porous but favours an approach which valorises society's post-9/11 obsession with border security (R. Jones, 2011). Further, the protected name accrues to a defined place but the raw materials and human techniques can never be entirely enclosed. However, even if it was somehow possible to create a good from materials that were entirely sourced from one place, the economic milieu of production would inevitably be influenced by global processes which internal actors would be unable to affect. This 'relational' geography moves away from perceptions of static and ahistorical territories towards an appreciation that place is

⁴¹⁵ Website: www.libdemvoice.org/dan-rogerson-mp-writes-the-crusade-to-protect-the-cornish-pasty-27940.html

⁴¹⁶ Government Does U-Turn Over 'Cornish Pasty Tax', *BBC*, 28 May 2012.

constructed by ongoing flows of people, capital, and production (Jonas, 2012). It indicates that 'local' and 'global' processes are unavoidably linked.

A conventional reading of the GI schema is that places with specific *terroirs* are bounded from external areas which possess different physical attributes. The MMPPA, for example, assert that their pies are specific to the town and surrounding region yet their out-of-place detractors argued that a 'natural' or 'typical' Melton Mowbray region had never existed and moreover the very idea that a specific 'Melton Mowbray' pie had ever existed was frankly ludicrous. The legal case established a precedent that permits PFN producers to amplify their boundaries over a far wider area than the place directly referenced by the geographical name of the food or drink. This case proved that legal actors supported a flexible attitude towards the idea of place. It may appear unusual that the legal system – stereotypically considered a structure that demands strict definitions – was so willing to accept the MMPPA's insistence that 'Melton Mowbray' is mere shorthand for a far greater expanse. I question how far the boundaries could be extended into cities near the protected area like Birmingham, Coventry, or Peterborough. At a certain point the expansionary idea of 'Melton Mowbray' would become unstable. These types of amplified boundaries are not restricted to the UK. The High Court referenced several such French protected names.⁴¹⁷ Moreover, in March 2008, Champagne's governing body requested that an additional forty villages be included within the previously tightly defined production area.⁴¹⁸ If it is possible for producers to modify the boundaries of Champagne – the quintessential GI – then it will be difficult for any place-based manufacturer to claim that their boundaries define a finite territory. This case suggests instead that all GI borders can be expanded at any moment and that the heralded connection between place and outcome is dubious if bounded locales expand at opportune moments to incorporate wide swathes of land which have diverse and inconsistent *terroir* attributes. A variation is where the geographical name accurately represents the place of production but which nonetheless occurs over a huge area. Scotch Beef and Lamb and Welsh Beef and Lamb must necessarily comprise of many varied *terroirs*.⁴¹⁹

The debate over what constitutes 'place' is articulated by the recent campaign to protect names which encompass more than one country. The first PDO⁴²⁰ to transcend

⁴¹⁷ Northern Foods Plc (Claimant) v The Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defendant) in the High Court of Justice (21 December 2005) Judgement Paragraph 26. Examples include Agneau (lamb) de Pauillac, Pruneaux (plums) d' Agen, and Jambon (ham) de Bayonne.

⁴¹⁸ The Expansion of Champagne, *Wine-pages.com*, September 2008.

⁴¹⁹ Another previously-mentioned example is Feta Cheese.

⁴²⁰ This is in addition to four Traditional Speciality Guaranteed (TSGs) which are jointly protected in the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic.

national boundaries was the Polish-Lithuanian honey *Seinų / Lazdijų krašto medus / Miód z Sejneńszczyzny / Łódziejszczyzny* registered in January 2012.⁴²¹ The EU's justification for the wide protected area is that the geography and skills of the beekeepers span national borders.⁴²² However, even transnational PDOs do not comprise the most expansive interpretation of place as Grimsby fish originate from Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and Norway. The town functions as a node in a networked chain of production that stretches to Icelandic trawlers and Reykjavik fish processors. This contrasts with Melton Mowbray where the pork is British (although it often comes from outside the protected area) and Stilton where the milk (usually) derives from the three counties. These differences indicate that producers apply place in a very inconsistent fashion. It can consist of a wide expanse which surrounds the town of Melton Mowbray, incorporate three entire counties which possess a multiplicity of *terroir* styles, or centre on the Docks area of Grimsby whose producers nonetheless derive all fish from external waters. These distinctions suggest that 'place' comprises whichever locations its controllers desire. This throws the international GI system into disarray. If producers unequally apply ideas of place to their foods and if governments are willing to certify such varied applications then 'place' may well become effectively meaningless. This in turn suggests that consumers should be sceptical about a form of IP that relies so heavily on such an ill-founded premise.

The SCMA promote the mainstream historical narrative that Stilton village traded rather than produced cheese (Hickman, 2005). This case reveals how one conception of history has been translated into a viable chronicle which has provided control over a desired territory. There are multiple geographical histories which link the cheese to both the three counties and the village but the SCMA only used one of these stories to construct the current boundaries. Bruno Latour's (1987) work on 'statements' explains how a select history is gradually normalised when a particular structure of knowledge becomes progressively hegemonic. An historical statement is reinforced by additional more recent statements until it eventually becomes a 'fact'. GI producers argue that their reading of history is accurate otherwise they would be unable to legitimate their production areas and hence exclude out-of-place competitors. The 'truth' about the location of historical cheese production is less relevant than the way in which past actions were invoked to serve producers' present-day interests. The village campaign group must develop a new account which transcends the current historical perspective in order to modify the extant boundaries. It needs to enrol

⁴²¹ *Seinų / Lazdijų Krašto Medus / Miód z Sejneńszczyzny / Łódziejszczyzny* Registration: Dossier Number LT/PDO/0005/0850.

⁴²² Website: www.minrol.gov.pl/eng/content/view/full/33404

politicians, the media,⁴²³ and celebrity chefs if it wants to destabilise the cheese's now-disputed geography. Historical geographies are partial and fragmented and official versions are determined from a selection of conflicting and ambiguous narratives. The Melton Mowbray and Grimsby producers wanted to acquire control over formerly unprotected places while the SCMA wish to defend the exclusivity of their current borders. Any number of protected names may currently appear stable but concealed antagonists could come forward to request their own boundary changes should the village campaign be successful. The challenge thus informs the producers of all British PFNs that place and boundaries are not fixed but unstable.

The place of Grimsby – in direct contrast to the controversial boundaries of Melton Mowbray and Stilton – is considered stable and its industrial character benefits the traditional smokers. This case proves that GIs can be produced in urban environments. A stereotypical perspective is that place-based foods are always produced in rural areas. An interesting aspect of Grimsby's geography is that – while this is the most urbanised of my cases – the traditional smokers generate the smallest output. By comparison, apparently rural or semi-rural GIs may present an artisanal visage but in reality are mass produced by standardised methods. The GI system requires producers to work with one another to ensure the integrity of the protected name. I felt that the Grimsby case best demonstrated this approach due to the close physical proximity between producers which was further supplemented by the auction and the multitude of ancillary companies. I posit that trust – an essential condition for the consistent production of 'club' goods such as GIs (Tregear and Gorton, 2009) – is enhanced by regular interaction between like-minded participants situated within a defined locale. This type of atmosphere helps make durable a particular conception of place as producers operate together to reinforce the stability of the protected name. My opinion is supported by English Heritage's report entitled *Grimsby Fish Docks: An Assessment of Character and Significance* (2009: 12) which notes that local businesses “are all bound tightly together by a community of economic interests and by a dense web of highly specific commercial connections. There is no building that does not owe its existence to the complex requirements of the maritime and fishing industries.” The Grimsby case indicates that the success of a GI is dependent on the way that producers operate. A GI may well have as sound a history as is possible but production will fail and the regulation will be violated if producers do not co-operate and form different factional groups.

⁴²³ Recent articles include Stilton Villagers in Fight For Blue Cheese Name, *BBC*, 20 September 2011; Stilton Campaigns to Reverse Decision Banning it From Naming Blue Cheese After Famous Village, *Mail Online*, 18 April 2012; and Stilton Seeks Right to Use its Own Name For its Cheese, *Daily Telegraph*, 23 May 2012.

I expected that – if I was to discover an environmentally deterministic approach to the production of PFNs – it would occur in the Stilton case by producers who would appeal to the importance of the physical *terroir* of the three counties. Advertisers commonly promote the supposedly unique 'taste of place' which suggests that such foods can be organoleptically distinguished from those produced externally. This stabilises the place of production as this assertion imputes that only one defined territory has the appropriate physical characteristics necessary to make the 'authentic' product. However, perhaps surprisingly, the Stilton-makers do not prioritise the 'natural' *terroir* but instead appeal to their skilled techniques. No producer mentioned anything approximating '*terroir*' to be the basis of the PDO. This may be because the use of pooled milk, the manipulation of this intermingled milk in the dairies, and its subsequent pasteurisation militate against the retention of milk specificity. Cheese production is reliant on a variety of factors (such as cows, bacteria, grass, and starter cultures) which are all supposedly linked to the land. This suggests that – if Stilton producers regard 'natural' *terroir* as unimportant in the establishment of claims to the particularity of outcome – it must be less significant for bakery products like Melton Mowbray even though PFN producers claim some sort of an association between land and product outcome.

This thesis extends our knowledge of how place-based producers apply claims to *terroir*. I argue that the physical component of this malleable concept no longer comprises an essential or even significant guarantor of outcome. My evidence suggests that the idea of physical *terroir* has been replaced by the attention directed towards human factors of production. My findings thus complement those of viticulturalists (Bohmrich, 1996; Vaudour, 2002) and geographers (Moran, 1993b; Gade, 2004) who assert that 'natural' conditions are subjugated by human skills which manipulate all that 'nature' provides. My evidence suggests that the progression away from the supremacy of physical conditions rejects the kind of environmentally deterministic notions first articulated a century ago by Semple. However, some commentators argue (Frenkel, 1994; Blaut, 1999; Judkins *et al.*, 2008; Radcliffe *et al.*, 2010) that determinism is still central to popular discourse and therefore continues to require critique. Producers who make a strong argument that outcome derives from land comprise part of this environmentally deterministic framework. Three components of contemporary production methods – the need for safety, the commercial desire for consistency, and the requirement for flexibility – have reduced the influence of physical *terroir* in place-based food production. Yet the power granted to human techniques

provides an equally deterministic framework that encloses people rather than place. It is unrealistic to assert that in-place skills cannot elsewhere be discovered, learned, and applied in an era of globalisation and migration. In fact if such skills could somehow be enclosed then the New World wine industry would not exist. Not only do wines from Australia, Chile, and South Africa have different *terroirs* from those in France, Italy, and Portugal but the very fact of their production signifies that the wine-makers' prestigious skills can be externally replicated. This suggests that both 'natural' and 'human' forms of *terroir* should be treated with considerable scepticism.

It has been argued (Vaudour, 2002) that place-based producers possess an intangible 'spiritual' ethos. This notion promotes a romantic or mythical connection between soil and product (similar to that contained in the Feta Cheese regulation where Greek myths were liberally conveyed). James Wilson (1998: 55), writing in a viticultural context, suggests that “beyond the measurable ecosystem, there is an additional dimension – the spiritual aspects that recognizes the joys, the heartbreaks, the pride, the sweat and the frustrations of history.” This is easier done with wine than food due to the common perception that the 'soul' of the vintner is incorporated into the bottled outcome. It is much less conventional to use such imagery for foods like pies, cheese, and fish. This 'spiritual' mentality is based on how producers operate and hence is specific to the protected territory. The 'taste' of place therefore includes the 'character' of the producers which, if marketed appropriately, will be considered by consumers to have been incorporated in the material output.

The unpredictable construction of place and boundaries in the GI system indicates that these concepts are less static than might first appear. Nonetheless, producers appeal to place to argue that foods and drinks which originate from protected locations are elsewhere unreproducible. This perspective suggests that only 'authentic' foods can be made in-place. However, the notion of authenticity (and its derivatives like claims to tradition) are themselves predicated on entirely subjective foundations.

IV. The Role of 'Authenticity'.

Place-based producers are eager to claim that the place of production is authentic but they may also refer to themes of tradition and quality. The creators of some protected names emphasise their foods' traditional character (such as Beacon Fell Traditional Lancaster Cheese and Traditional Cumberland Sausage) while others

promote their supposedly authentic status (like the MMPPA's 'Authentic Melton Mowbray' logo). The constructors of the GI system have made 'authenticity' – a highly subjective notion – static (as it is based on a presumption that it can derive from a bounded place) while relegating 'quality' – a concept which may initially appear quantifiable (through some form of testing) – into secondary importance. GI producers work to certify the authentic status of their place-based foods via the award of protected status yet deny authenticity to very similar products where the major (and, at times, only) difference is that they are created out-of-place.

PFN manufacturers ideally require the existence of similar foods in order to create a material (based on taste and appearance) and conceptual (predicated on the ideas contained in the product) contrast between their in-place and 'inferior' out-of-place foods. We can profitably use Walter Benjamin's (1936) observation that art became more valuable in an era of mass reproduction as it was only then that the original was distinguishable from its many facsimiles. Benjamin explains that if conditions are thought to exist which are sufficiently different to the ethos provided by the creative object then the artwork will increase in cultural value. This tendency can be observed in the PFN system. Pork pies made outside Melton Mowbray were juxtaposed by the internal producers to place-based 'genuine' pies. Fish smoked in mechanical kilns was unfavourably compared by the Grimsby producers to cod and haddock from the traditional smoke-houses. The Stilton case is different because the cheese has long been established. It is therefore unnecessary for the SCMA to directly employ ideas of authenticity as there are no other comparable rivalrous cheeses. There are blue cheeses like Gorgonzola and Roquefort but these prestigious names will never be 'passed off' as Stilton. This situation has, of course, recently changed due to the Stichelton producer's use of 'Stilton-like' terminology. The Stichelton producer wants to join the Stilton 'club' and does not consider he is 'passing off' his product as Stilton. The SCMA, however, are adamant that Stichelton should not become part of the Stilton monopoly (as it is unpasteurised) and argue that their brand is being misused. They insist that authentic Stilton must comply with every facet of the PDO.

The Melton Mowbray producers were the only manufacturers who foregrounded authenticity. The standardisation of 'authentic' Melton Mowbray production techniques and ingredients has created a consistent visual and structural theme (bow-shaped), type of meat (uncured), meat content (minimum 30 percent), and style of cooking (unsupported when baked). The MMPPA claim that these four components collectively differentiate Melton Mowbrays from all other pork pies.

Identical but external pork pies would still be legally inauthentic as authenticity is primarily predicated on the place of production rather than methods or style. I take this to mean that 'quality' is not a powerful rationale for protection as pies of equal quality are nonetheless deemed inauthentic. All GIs codify a particular geography and specific history. A designated historical geography becomes the exclusive model of production at the moment of PFN certification. The status of Mowbray pies prior to the award of protection was ambiguous. The MMPPA demanded a tighter legal definition while external producers wished to retain the pies' flexible geography and multitudinous ingredients. The in-place producers initially managed to stabilise place and ingredients but the boundaries soon expanded and the PGI regulation has recently been further altered to allow the inclusion of potato starch in the production process.⁴²⁴ This change implies that producers' need to cater for contemporary manufacturing practices must override traditional production mechanisms whenever necessary.

Many PFN producers supply the major supermarket retailers. They are not tiny 'alternative' organisations located 'outside' the market but are fully integrated in the commercial sphere which exploit the psychology of consumer desires. These producers wish to brand their foods as artisanal but also want to maximise market share through large-scale production that can only arise from 'industrial' methods. They refer to ideas of place and tradition but only to the extent that consistency will remain unaffected. They must appeal to a particular construction of authenticity which produces consistent outputs. The Melton Mowbray participants need to create pies which adhere to a regular size, shape, and taste so that consumers are able to rely on the 'Melton Mowbray' brand. The Grimsby producers aim to create smoked fish of a consistent weight and regulate the smoke-houses' temperature and humidity to ensure a consistent outcome. The Stilton-makers create pasteurised cheese from pooled milk. This level of standardisation abjures the perspective that place-based goods must originate from hand-crafted production methods. Harry West (forthcoming), for example, argues that independent small-scale cheese-makers exemplify artisanal practices and embrace inconsistent *terroir* dynamics. They apparently reject the consistent approach of large-scale producers. The contrast between Stilton and Stichelton details this difference. The Stichelton producer argues that his cheese truly embraces *terroir* because of its small-scale. The milk only derives from one farm whereas even the smallest Stilton producer obtains milk from multiple pastures. This perspective argues that authenticity derives from scale and that only small producers who have total control over their inputs can possibly create authentic results

⁴²⁴ Amendment Application Melton Mowbray Pork Pie.

The Grimsby smokers promote their traditional skills as a marker of value. This suggests that their product is authentically created in contrast to that from the mechanical kilns. This type of perspective, according to Amy Trubek (2008: 52-53), is nowadays popular in France as “urban sophisticates have begun to embrace *cuisine du terroir*. Earlier it was considered uncomplicated peasant food, heavy, often bland, and of no interest to cosmopolitan French people. The 21st century understanding of the taste of place adopts the long-held view that locations within France create unique flavours, only now celebrating these flavours increasingly involves rejecting the trappings of modernity and returning to earlier ways.” Similarly, the place-based structure of protected foods appeals to consumers because their producers insist that these products have 'always' been fabricated in a generally unchanging style and consistent place. The tradition-in-place, after all, is the basis for protection. The traditional process must occur within a defined area. It is the link between smoking and Grimsby which allows the fish to be constructed as authentic. The Melton Mowbray actors are keen to connect their pies to those produced two centuries earlier, the Stilton producers trace their heritage back to the 18th century, and – while the Grimsby manufacturers have less longevity in-place – they compensate for this with an appeal to their traditional methods. However, the place of production may still be critiqued as inauthentic if raw materials are sourced from out-of-place, technological developments are not endogenous, and boundaries are inconsistently formed and expand at opportune moments.

Authenticity appears as arbitrary a term as 'place' or 'boundaries'. However, despite its variable definition, it is used by producers as an objective guarantee which supposedly ensures that consumers purchase the 'genuine' good. The way in which subjective constructions like authenticity are made static is core to the GI scheme. This section explored the research questions which revealed producers' diverse rationales for protection, subjective constructions of place and boundaries, and debatable applications of authenticity. I now theorise about the mechanisms by which authenticity is interpreted in multiple ways, consider the dominance of the legal profession in the creation of claims to authentic status, question the discriminatory application of the GI model, and suggest how academic geographers should engage with this normative topic.

V. Constructions of Authenticity – A Critical Engagement.

I summarise this work with a theorisation of the ways in which producers of place-based goods attempt to transmit notions of authenticity to their consuming audience. I obtain the multiple ideas that construct assertions of authentic status from a reading of the themes of place, *terroir*, history, and tradition inherent in the case studies. These varied interpretations derive both from scholars who theorise about constructions of authenticity and producers and regulators involved in the production of localised goods. My cases show that manufacturers and social scientists understand authenticity in very different ways. The mechanisms by which authenticity is understood are dependent on place, culture, and time. Moreover, even within one location at one time, different individuals and groups will possess varying interpretations of the concept. There can therefore never be a monolithic account of 'authenticity'.

Monica Truninger and José Sobral (2011) provide three useful examples of authenticity: objective, social constructive, and existential. The formalisation of claims to objective authenticity often occurs through a process of certification. An example, in this case, would be producers' acquisition of GI status which appears to determine that their products are legally authentic. These types of certification systems can apparently factually establish the 'truth' or 'falsity' of producer claims about the good. This objective position operates differently to the constructivist approach. Truninger and Sobral (2011) claim that conceptions of authenticity derive from the specificity of the society in which producing actors and their audience are situated. Proponents of this model reject the idea that the legal structure can automatically provide products with 'authentic' status. Their third type is that of existential authenticity. This refers to the emotions generated when an individual engages in a particularly intense act. It could, for example, involve consuming food from an area with which a person has a positive attachment. Eating local produce therefore creates authentic sentiment as it links the person to their heritage.

Producers and policy-makers emphasise the objective approach as they argue that certification 'proves' that the good is authentic. Scholars assert that the constructivist model is most appropriate as the notions on which authenticity is based can themselves be interpreted in numerous ways. Consumers often adopt the existential typology as they individually decide whether a food is authentic based on their values which are in turn dependent on personality and past experiences. These

differences suggest to me that it will be difficult to persuade purchasers that a GI is authentic based on certification alone. Producers and retailers will need to emphasise place and methods of production rather than simply rely on the official logos.

The GI system is founded on the assumption that an 'authentic' way of generating products can be unearthed and verified. This suggests that similar goods which do not conform to the production standards or which cannot be proven to originate from the appropriate location must therefore be 'inauthentic'. Such a distinction requires adherence to any number of essentialist criteria that are appealed to in order to distinguish the 'real' from the 'fake'. This raises the key question as to which actors have the power to make such decisions. Who, in other words, are the authenticators? In the GI case producers propose that a food should be protected and then – through a process of negotiation – the product acquires its new status. It is the legal structure (such as EU regulation 2081/92 or TRIPS) which determines whether foods and the places from which they originate are 'authentic'. Legal actors have, in effect, been granted the power by politicians to objectify what is clearly a social construction. A legal regulatory mechanism is therefore able to make one interpretation of 'authenticity' into a fact. This model of operation occurs as the EU and international political actors wish to promote and certify place-based foods.

The evidence acquired in my case studies suggests that the mechanisms by which place and production methods are able to verify authenticity may, to some degree, be 'invented' or 'staged' in the furtherance of producers' socio-economic goals but nonetheless appear 'real' to consumers. Further, the way in which authenticity is constructed ranges from a producer-led approach which strongly insists that foods are authentic to a more nuanced form which infers that themes of place and heritage denote an authentic framework. The often conflated notions of 'authenticity' and 'tradition' (Carroll and Wheaton, 2008) are not, in fact, synonymous. The difference between these terms is that only so-called authentic foods are based on a defined area of production. These edibles could be created outside the protected zone in accordance with supposedly traditional standards but would still be inauthentic as geographical provenance is the major criterion through which claims to authenticity are assessed by producers and consumers alike.

Producer claims of authenticity are based on the physical outputs of production. These (in a food context) constitute the geography (the defined area of production) and history (the apparently traditional style and ingredients). The evidence from my cases

shows that the ideas contained within the product – such as those of the 'natural' or 'rural' – are conceptually integrated within the materiality of the good. This explains why ostensibly authentic outputs must stringently adhere to numerous detailed requirements. Such an attitude also reveals the multi-dimensional constructions of authenticity. A good produced within the regulated area will not be considered authentic if the methods of production are thought to be inadequately traditional. Similarly, a product created out-of-place may be a replica of the apparently genuine item but too geographically distant to ever achieve the mantle of authenticity.

Another way in which authenticity is interpreted is evidenced by the relationship between producer outputs and the commercial sphere of production. Manufacturers who operate within the realms of mass production reject the idea that apparently authentic foods must be situated within 'alternative' food networks where producers' cultural goals such as protecting the food name have been able to overcome 'rational' economic desires like increased profits (Bryant and Goodman, 2004). These goods also apparently should adhere to a stringent and restrictive idea of the 'local' (Blake *et al.*, 2010). Commercial producers of place-based goods transcend the economic / cultural divide as they do not regard 'cultural' goods to be conceptually located 'outside' the market. They instead function in a manner whereby the economy is embedded in and created by cultural models of production. It is the 'culture' of protected food production that generates economic benefits for in-place actors.

It became clear to me that commercially-minded producers have, in effect, created their own notion of authenticity which has limited commonalities with alternative production networks. Proponents of this view oppose a framework that positions 'authentic' goods as small-scale and rarefied. They instead insist that authentic goods must be affordable and transmittable to distant purchasers. This often requires what is (pejoratively) described as an 'industrial' mode of production – techniques which rely on automated, large-scale, urban, factory-based processes to generate outputs that are dispatched *en mass* to the supermarket chains. The appeal to commerce explains why 'place' must be sufficiently flexible in order to ensure that sufficient quantities can be fabricated. This indicates that authenticity is a more subtle construction than a series of overt binaries which appeal to either / or values based on the level of output (small / large), location of the firm (rural / urban), business style (craft-like workshops / factories), and ownership (family-owned / large business). The rejection of this dichotomous thinking provides an opportunity to develop a more

sophisticated typology which challenges common stereotypes that, for example, conflate authentic outputs with hand-made production techniques.

Place-based producers who operate within a commercial environment are thus forced to negotiate some tricky conceptual boundaries. They want to maintain their integrity but simultaneously must conform to the needs of the market in which they are situated. The result is that foods from the major producers are standardised and consistent. Commercial operators do not believe that authentic goods must consist of varied inputs (production styles and ingredients) which result in inconsistent outputs (appearance, taste, texture, and size). Moreover, production techniques were standardised as early as the mid-19th century (Blundel and Tregear, 2006) and hence producers argue that foods which result from consistent production processes need not be regarded as inauthentic.

However, artisanal operators deny that a commercial form of authenticity can exist. These manufacturers employ few workers, demand high prices, and often sell their wares in the immediate locality (Tregear, 2005). It is conventional to assert that the creators of mass-produced objects can never have the 'personal touch' possessed by those who make artisanal goods. These attributes, however, do not represent the majority of operators in my case studies who nonetheless employ claims to authenticity as a marker of value. The dichotomy between what can broadly be delineated as the 'artisanal' and the 'commercial' indicates the role of context when adjudicating claims to authentic status. Authenticity, for artisanal producers, demands a very different geography (small-scale, rural) and production techniques (hand-made) to those required for mainstream manufacturing. A more balanced reading would ensure that industrial-style production is no longer negatively juxtaposed to 'true' artisanal methods. This approach militates against a suffocating embrace of tradition in favour of a model that blends past and present methods in an attempt to develop an account of what constitutes a contemporary 'authentic' product. Advocates of this schematic do not regard historical techniques and modern methods to be mutually exclusive. Rather this view suggests that the past influences the present while allowing for a contemporary influence.

The selection of ideas employed to substantiate producer claims of authenticity occurs via the enrolment of historical geographies. Accounts of past locations and traditions are unlikely to be entirely fictional yet producers who wish to employ geography and history in the furtherance of their aims must necessarily invoke a

selective tranche of suitable narratives to justify their preferred boundaries and production techniques. There will never be one unadulterated historical geography of production but rather any number of versions that in different hands will form alternative conceptions of boundaries and methods of production. The enrolment of historical geography indicates that producers believe authenticity requires a level of fidelity to the intentions of the original manufacturing authority. However, it is usually impossible to predict what the original creator's intentions might have been for the product. The attempt to valorise the past through a commitment to one 'genuine' historical model is thus an ambitious and possibly foolhardy desire. Heldke (2003: 33) notes that "change, variation, and alteration tend to be objects of suspicion for the eater intent on an authentic experience [yet] to seek after some pure, unchanging, authentic essence in a cuisine is to look for something that does not exist." It is unrealistic to ossify a product in place and time. It is surely more practical for producers to bypass vain attempts to reproduce the performance of past epochs in favour of an appreciation that apparently authentic products can and perhaps should embody some degree of modernisation. This approach means that the quest for authenticity does not require historical locations and methods of production to be sealed as guardians of an unmodifiable past.

The transmission of geographical knowledge about place and conditions of production may initially appear a way to foster engagement between consumers and producers. It is only through the provision of accurate information about the production process that consumers can decide whether they consider their food purchases to be 'authentic'. Truninger and Sobral (2011: 6) explain that "access to the true essential character of goods (their authenticity) would be achieved once these camouflaged layers [of production] were surpassed." This belief connects to existential authenticity as consumers are more likely to feel positive if they know the 'reality' about the origin and methods that created their foods. However, while unveiling the commodity fetish may be a laudable aim, the provision of knowledge itself can become fetishised (Coles and Crang, 2011). Producers encourage consumers to connect ideas of place to those of authenticity. Yet the knowledge they provide is partial. They do not explain, for example, that the geographically-named place of production may well incorporate numerous distant locales. Nor are buyers informed that supposedly traditional production methods could, in fact, be wholly modern. It is possible that, in future, consumers might start to 'de-authenticate' place-based goods should they become sceptical about their 'true' geography and 'traditional' production techniques.

Consumers' beliefs about globalisation help to influence how apparently authentic goods are perceived. It is common in Western societies to reference globalisation as an homogenising force which purportedly eradicates cultural specificity (Klein, 2000). Within such readings the branding of place-based products is viewed as a deliberate response to the debilitating hegemony of 'big business'. 'Local' conditions are fetishised in a positive way while the 'global' is characterised as deplorable. An alternative perspective argues that globalisation has considerably less influence than its detractors allege. This view asserts that the 'global' can be resisted or integrated into local lifestyles (Jackson, 1999). Yet another account associated with free-market libertarianism believes that globalisation provides societal benefits as it allows consumers to sample previously unobtainable goods (Larsson, 2001). However, what is relevant to this work is less the 'truth' of the effects of globalisation (assuming they can be quantified) and more so the way in which consumers interpret its powers. If they consider their world to have become increasingly inauthentic (Relph, 1976) then they may seek out goods – edible and otherwise – which they regard as rooted in-place. The belief that globalisation has extirpated areal specificity causes anxiety about the loss of a desired lifestyle – concern that a cherished sense of place is threatened (Truninger and Sobral, 2011). This will specifically occur in a food context if consumers regard their purchases to have become so de-territorialised that they no longer derive from a definable geography (Murdoch and Meile, 1999). A response may be to purchase 'local', 'rural', and 'traditional' products. Yet consumers' ability to receive place-based goods often necessitates extensive transportation networks and contributes to negative aspects of globalisation such as 'food miles'. Apparently authentic place-based products are distributed through the same transport routes as 'conventional' place-less goods. It is therefore only through globalisation that many 'local' foods and drinks become part of the culinary experiences of Western consumers.

As her book title – *Exotic Appetites* – suggests, Heldke (2003) focuses on Americans' consumption of 'foreign' produce⁴²⁵ like Mexican and Thai foods. She argues that authentic foods are novel. The question I pose is whether traditional place-based foods can fit into this definition. The answer appears dependent on how the 'exotic' is conceptualised which is contextually dependent on time and place. It is possible that place-based 'English' foods – while far from 'exotic' today – may well become so in a more multicultural environment. Consumers may come to regard local or regional 'British' foods to be more authentic when they are surrounded by

⁴²⁵ This is, of course, 'foreign' to her. No doubt 'American' foods are equally 'exotic' to nationalities unfamiliar with such cuisine. A good example of how American dishes can be constructed as exotic is Melissa Caldwell's (2004) investigation of Russian consumers' perception of McDonalds.

international cuisines and restaurants. Perhaps, in one or two decades, gourmets will eat out in order to consume (what is promoted as) their national dishes rather than those of the 'other'. The current desire for 'authentic' Burmese, Ethiopian, and Nepalese dishes (albeit ones modified for the requirements of the British palette) could be superseded by a desire for British foods that hail from clearly demarcated areas.

My initial intellectual foray into the world of GIs was based on a naïve assumption that a form of IP which centralised the word 'geographical' would surely be a theoretical topic with which human geographers had extensive critical engagement. This proved, however, to be incorrect as geographers (with the exception of Moran, 1993b and Parry, 2008) appeared to have all but avoided this research area. This was a surprise to me as GIs are resplendent with themes of place, boundaries, and *terroir* whose varied interpretations have long been subject to geographical interrogation. Moreover, social constructions of place-based authenticity and tradition occupy a privileged location at the heart of the GI model and hence should also have been the focus of geographical scrutiny. Instead, the vast majority of research derives from a legal perspective⁴²⁶ and is supplemented by accounts from economists and practitioners of development. I aimed instead to provide an analysis that explored the cultural attributes of place-based production. It concerned me that most legal scholars consider IP law 'as is'. In other words they overlook the legitimacy (or lack thereof) of the GI structure in favour of an approach that serves the goals of producing actors. These legal actors unabashedly enrol core geographical tenets in the service of those who use law to benefit their socio-economic ends.

I regarded the GI structure as one that should be subject to challenge rather than taken-for-granted. This is not to say that I considered the system illegitimate but instead believed that its constitutive components required examination. Further, I acknowledged that law is culturally specific. Even jurisdictions with the same legal system (such as the common law) apply it in different ways. However, 'national character' is glossed over by the international (TRIPS) GI structure as it is simply assumed that one model of IP law should apply to all WTO members. I also considered the components that form the GI schematic – place, boundaries, *terroir*, and authenticity – to be subjective ideas in need of interrogation rather than unchallengeable and objective facts. This explained my desire to determine why specific British producers demanded protected status, how they used constructions of

⁴²⁶ A Google Scholar search for “geographical indications” reveals (02 April 2013) 11,600 results. The results are dominated by papers in law journals such as *The Journal of World Intellectual Property*, *Hastings Law Journal*, *The Journal of International Economic Law*, *Estey Centre Journal of International Law and Trade*, and *The Journal of African Law*.

place and boundaries, and the manner by which they deployed their perceptions of authenticity. This necessitated a qualitative case study approach which differentiated my account from reports that derived inspiration from legal documentation. The way in which social constructions are understood and employed depends on the specificity of the (food) product, the place of production, and the type of (human and non-human) participants. My qualitative methodology embraced the individuality of each case rather than viewing GIs as unproblematic normative devices that could be explained without reference to their specific context.

I conceptualise the GI system as one in which producing actors iteratively perform claims to the origins and traditions of their foods. These staged representations allow the GI structure to be perpetuated and perceived as stable. This necessitates each producer group selecting their preferred understanding of place and history in order to promote an appealing narrative about the product. The manufacturing procedure allows ideas of place and authenticity to be ensconced within the materiality of production. Yet I believe that there is limited consistency in the way that these concepts are enacted. It has become clear, for example, that producers conceptualise and apply place in multiple ways. Even for one product the protected zone may reference an alternative (perhaps significantly wider) area than that depicted by the producers' original plan. These varied appreciations are not necessarily worrisome *per se* inasmuch as the geographical themes discussed throughout this work cannot be objectively defined. However, my concern is that law (in democratic states) is supposed to be enforced consistently. The innumerable ways in which geography is interpreted discriminate against unprivileged actors (those located out-of-place or those in-place who do not or cannot abide by the regulations). My worry is not only that the GI model segregates between producers regarded as 'in' and 'out' of place but additionally that it is arduous for non-compliant manufacturers to challenge their exclusion when geographical definitions are inconsistently applied.

I believe that it would be unwise for geographers to ignore the GI model. The system has long been in operation and it is therefore pertinent for geographers to engage with its application. After all, lawyers, economists, and development practitioners have shown no such reticence in claiming GIs as their territory. Nonetheless, I am not suggesting that geographers become an integral part of the GI structure. Their role should not be to act as cheerleaders but rather to provide some much needed objectivity. The number of GIs and their regulatory remit will only increase. Geographers should better ensure that their skills – the ability to examine

social constructions and to appreciate that historical geographies are invariably selective – are applied in order to reduce the potential for unacceptable discrimination. It is appropriate that geographers engage with the GI model to at least try to militate against any potential excesses of future regulatory expansion.

This thesis depicts how it is possible for ideas of place, boundaries, *terroir*, tradition, history, and authenticity to provide a level of explanatory power that is richer than accounts of the GI structure which originate from lawyers and economists. I focus in particular on the numerous ways in which authenticity can be constructed and applied. I now provide some suggestions that I believe will enhance the geographical legitimacy of the PFN structure and note that – in the UK at least – recent official decisions have clarified certain geographical inconsistencies, improved the scheme's epistemic foundations, and increased its practical validity.

VI. Study Implications and Suggestions.

The official aim of a two-tier PFN scheme is to distinguish between foods which have a substantial *terroir* connection to the place of production from those whose association is predominantly based on reputation. PDOs must be produced, processed, and prepared within the protected zone while for PGIs only one of these characteristics must occur in-place. However, my investigation of the Stilton PDO and the Melton Mowbray and Grimsby PGIs failed to discern a significant difference in the way that producers enrol place. It was noted, for example, that the Stilton producers source at 'peak times' from outside the bounded area. Regulation 2081/92 (which defines PDOs and PGIs) notes that “certain geographical designations shall be treated as designations of origin where the raw materials of the products concerned come from a geographical area larger than or different from the processing area, provided that the production area of the raw materials is limited.”⁴²⁷ This permits all PDO manufacturers to source from outside the protected area. Moreover, “the Member State concerned may request the amendment of a specification, in particular to [...] redefine the geographical area.”⁴²⁸ This indicates that no protected name requires a consistent location. It is unclear why foods of the same type have been awarded both PDOs and PGIs. The cheeses Buxton Blue, Single Gloucester, Stilton, and West Country Farmhouse Cheddar are PDOs while Dorset Blue and Exmoor Blue are PGIs. It is also unlikely that each of the 27 EU member states consistently distinguish between PDOs and PGIs. Feta

⁴²⁷ Council Regulation (EEC) No 2081/92 of 14 July 1992 on the Protection of Geographical Indications and Designations of Origin for Agricultural Products and Foodstuffs Article 2 Paragraph 4.

⁴²⁸ Council Regulation 2081/92 Article 9.

Cheese, for example, is a PDO although its production zone encompasses all of mainland Greece which must negate claims to a consistent *terroir*. One suggestion is to replace the dual PDO-PGI system with a single type of protected name. This would create a simpler PFN structure that could be more effectively promoted to consumers and should overcome the often limited difference in the use of place between PDOs and PGIs.

Traditional Speciality Guaranteed (TSG) foods have no dependence on a specific geography and hence challenge the place-based focus that is supposedly integral to GIs. Regulation 2082/92 (which defines the TSG structure) states that “registration shall not be permitted in the case of an agricultural product or foodstuff the specific character of which is due to its provenance or geographical origin.”⁴²⁹ This statement is profoundly ageographical. Further, so-called 'traditional' foods do not even require much longevity of in-place production as “'traditional' means proven usage on the Community market for a time period showing transmission between generations; this time period should be the one generally ascribed to one human generation, at least 25 years.”⁴³⁰ This lack of geographical exactitude is demonstrated by Traditional Farmfresh Turkeys which were protected in July 2000. The majority of producers hail from London but others are based as far afield as East Yorkshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, and North Yorkshire.⁴³¹ One idea would be to remove TSGs from the PFN model. This notion would not substantially alter the system as, in January 2013, there were only 38 TSGs⁴³² which comprised a mere 3.3% of all PFNs.⁴³³

The EU, however, wants to keep PDOs and PGIs as separate systems and is in favour of TSGs. It argued (2010b) in a recent policy paper that the PFN system should remain unchanged as “for designations of origin and geographical indications, simplification of the scheme by merging the two instruments was opposed [and] for traditional speciality guaranteed, almost unanimous support was expressed by stakeholders for continuation of the TSG scheme, underlining its potential and

⁴²⁹ Council Regulation (EEC) No 2082/92 of 14 July 1992 on Certificates of Specific Character for Agricultural Products and Foodstuffs Article 4 Paragraphs 1 and 2a.

⁴³⁰ Council Regulation (EEC) No 509/2006 of 20 March 2006 on Agricultural Products and Foodstuffs as Traditional Specialities Guaranteed Article 2 Paragraph 1b.

⁴³¹ Website: www.totallytraditionalturkeys.com/our-members

⁴³² The only other British TSG is Traditionally Farmed Gloucestershire Old Spots Pork which was protected in July 2010.

⁴³³ Nine of these originate from Poland which only joined the EU in 2004. TSGs (according to Simon Johnson of DEFRA) appeal to Eastern European producers because many of their traditional products have a loose link to place due to historical internal conflicts, post-War boundary changes, and political upheaval.

importance for producers of traditional products that do not qualify under the geographical indications scheme.”⁴³⁴

It recently appears that – in the UK at least – regulatory change means that applications for protected status are more rigorously checked than was previously the case. This is evidenced by DEFRA's rejection of the Jersey Milk Marketing Board's (JMMB) request to register 'Jersey Butter' as a PDO. DEFRA did not object to the name, description, defined geographical area, traceability, methods of production, or inspection body.⁴³⁵ However, they thought that the purported link between the characteristics of the butter and the environment from which the milk derived was insufficient. They argued instead that the butter's qualities originate from Jersey cows rather than any tangible feature of the Island and that the same breed which grazes in numerous other locations provides the same milk which makes equivalent butter. DEFRA's rejection letter unambiguously states that:

“The 'distinctive golden hue and rich sheen' [quote from the PDO application] indicates that those qualities are the product of the breed and not the island. In short the Applicant [JMMB] fails to provide any evidence to support its assertions either in respect of texture, colour, or flavour, and is reduced to [the] ambiguous and baseless remark that 'its flavour is reminiscent of its natural origins: clean, sea air, and fresh lush grass'. Butter from Jersey cows, produced entirely on the UK mainland, has all the characteristics attributed by the application to the island's geographical environment. No demonstrable link is drawn between the flora and fauna of the Channel Islands and the characteristics of Jersey butter.”⁴³⁶

Another example of this new-found exactitude is DEFRA's opposition to the Lincolnshire Sausage Association's (LSA) application to protect 'Lincolnshire Sausages' as a PGI. The rejection letter asserts that the key ingredients of pork and sage are only vaguely linked to the county. It further claims that the sausages have been made outside Lincolnshire for at least three decades, that 95 percent of production occurs externally (which infers that consumers do not connect them to Lincolnshire), and that

⁴³⁴ Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council on Agricultural Product Quality Schemes Section 2.2.

⁴³⁵ Application to Protect the Name 'Jersey Butter' as a Protected Designation of Origin: Decision Letter, 11 November 2010, Paragraphs 8, 10, 12-13, 15, and 21.

⁴³⁶ Jersey Butter Letter 'Summary of Objections' for Objection Admissibility Criteria 1.

they are based on a wide variety of recipes both inside and outside the county.⁴³⁷ The LSA was enraged by these claims and argued that “too much emphasis has been placed on the recipe rather than the method of production. In particular, no account seemed to have been taken [by DEFRA] of the coarseness of the mincing process which gives the true Lincolnshire sausage its bite and too much has been made of the ‘predominance of sage’.” The LSA appealed the decision and claimed that “MEPs and MPs across the county have been up in arms and writing to DEFRA to question their decision and [to] support the Lincolnshire Sausage.”⁴³⁸ However, their appeal was rejected in October 2012 on the grounds that there was an inadequate connection between product and place.⁴³⁹

DEFRA rejected the JMMB's application as they believe that the qualities of Jersey Butter are unconnected to the *terroir* of Jersey. They denied the LSA's request because Lincolnshire Sausages were apparently made in a multitude of inconsistent styles. These dismissals surely question whether many existing British PFNs would today be granted protection. It is unclear, for example, how the LSA's claims are any more dubious than those made for any number of other reputation-based PGIs. The Chairwoman of the LSA made this very point when she stated that: “We think we've got a lot of grounds to appeal, especially when you compare us to Cornish Pasties and Melton Mowbray Pork Pies⁴⁴⁰ and Traditional Cumberland Sausages, all of which have got PGI status.”⁴⁴¹ It is of note that Newmarket Sausages were granted PGI status in November 2012.⁴⁴² The LSA will, no doubt, be curious to know why DEFRA regard the connection between their sausages and Lincolnshire to be unacceptably vague while those of the Newmarket manufacturers apparently possess a valid connection to the vicinity of Newmarket.

The evidence I acquired through my case studies of Melton Mowbray Pork Pies, Stilton Cheese, and Grimsby Traditional Smoked Fish demonstrates that proponents of the GI system – producers, regulators, and government officials – inconsistently employ and understand constructions of place, boundaries, and authenticity. This is of concern because this geographically-based form of IP is rapidly becoming a hegemonic

⁴³⁷ Application to Protect the Name 'Lincolnshire Sausage' as a Protected Geographical Indication: Decision Letter, 17 May 2012, Paragraphs 22-23 and 26-28.

⁴³⁸ Website: www.lincolnshiresausages.co.uk

⁴³⁹ Lincolnshire Sausage Association Loses Appeal to Get Protected Status, *Rutland & Stamford Mercury*, 22 October 2012.

⁴⁴⁰ The same argument was made by Northern Foods. They claimed that there had never been a consistent Melton Mowbray recipe and that a wide variety of styles existed both inside and outside the MMPPA's desired area. The 'Melton Mowbray' name, unlike 'Lincolnshire Sausages', did, of course, receive PGI status.

⁴⁴¹ Lincolnshire Sausage Campaigners Plan Protected Appeal, *BBC*, 28 May 2012.

⁴⁴² Newmarket Sausages Granted European Protected Status, *BBC*, 29 October 2012.

regulatory device. In the final section I explain two ways in which the GI model has begun to affect previously untouched areas of society. First, it has started to be used to encourage economic development in Less Developed Countries (LDCs). Second, the EU's intention is to invoke GIs as a challenge to the supremacy of American trademark law.

VII. The Future of Geographical Indications.

In recent years GIs have begun to be regarded as an almost Utopian solution to economic malaise in the developing world. Development practitioners argue that producers who acquire GI status will encourage exports, increase rural employment, and promote tourism (Das, 2006; Reviron, 2009; Bowen, 2010a). Massimo Vittori (2010: 305) – the Secretary General of oriGIn (Organization for an International Network of Geographical Indications) – aims to position GIs at the centre of the development process and argues that they “apply to agricultural goods and handicrafts, sectors in which developing countries have a competitive advantage due to their long tradition of place-based craft creation. Geographical names can be used to transform producers of generic goods in these countries into exporters of high quality agribusiness and handicraft develop[ment].” Legal scholar Martha Echols (2003: 200) asserts that “many foods bearing a geographical indication are the products of small (or micro) businesses and are traditional, artisanal, and of rural origin. These features often add to their attractiveness and price, especially when they are sold in domestic or export niche (e.g. gourmet or speciality) markets.” Basmati rice, for example, has received considerable attention due to its economic importance for Indian and Pakistani subsistence farmers (Chandola, 2006; Marie-Vivien, 2008; Rangnekar and Kumar, 2010). Bernard O'Connor (2005: 15) indicates that the breadth of place-based goods that could be transformed into African GIs includes Argan oil from Morocco, chillies and pickles from Rodrigues Island (near Mauritius), Chipinga coffee from Zimbabwe, fabrics from Korhogo in Côte d'Ivoire, Guinean pineapples, Kilimanjaro coffee from Tanzania, Mananara vanilla from Madagascar, and white honey from Cameroon. Economic benefits are apparently not limited to LDCs and also accrue to poorer 'lagging' (often rural) regions of the EU (Ilbery and Kneafsey, 2000a; Hingley *et al.* 2010; Vakoufari, 2010). The PDO awarded to the producers of Comté Cheese (from the Franche-Comté region of eastern France) has enabled them to increase their output volume, amplify the price that local farmers charge for milk, stabilise the retail price, and encourage tourism (Gerz and Dupont, 2006).

GIs are not only economic tools but – equally, if not more, importantly – are also considered able to protect local techniques that derive from distinct cultural groups (Waglé, 2007; Singhal, 2008). These methods of production are often referred to as the outcome of Traditional Knowledge (TK) (Panizzon, 2006). Gangjee (2008b) even suggests that GI production can promote human rights as they help developing nations fulfil their obligations to treaties like the United Nation's (UN) Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.⁴⁴³ Additionally, the third Millennium Development Goal (MDG) is to 'promote gender equality and empower women.'⁴⁴⁴ Vittori (2010) claims that GI producers in Africa contribute to this laudable aim because the raw materials are usually sourced by females. He provides the example of Karité Butter from Burkina Faso where local women collect Shea nuts which they turn into butter. GI certification of place-based products apparently gives TK practitioners confidence that their outputs are less likely to be counterfeited both within the country of production and after they have been exported to the West.⁴⁴⁵ India recently registered the Pattamadai mats of the Tirunelveli district and Nachiarkoil lamps of Thanjavur (in Tamil Nadu). This LDC is at the forefront of craft protection and created a Geographical Indication of Goods Act as far back as 1999 to prevent “the serious threat that fake handicrafts and handlooms posed to the livelihood of thousands of artisans. Mass-produced fake Pashmina shawls, Kashmiri carpets and even Ganesha idols with differently-shaped eyes were flooding the Indian market from both within and outside the country. Imitation products were also being sold abroad.”⁴⁴⁶

The second expansionary component is that the EU has started to use GIs to challenge the pre-eminence of (American) trademark law. This will surely lead to conflict between the EU and the US as the former seeks to globalise its GI model while the latter wishes to perpetuate the use of trademarks. The US government's opposition to GIs stems from its concern that American trademarks based on place-names such as 'Budweiser' (which derives from the Czech town of Budějovice) would be prohibited if

⁴⁴³ This treaty (1976) guarantees citizens the right to education, healthcare, and an acceptable standard of living. Article 15 Paragraph 1c asserts that people should “benefit from the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which [they are] the author.” The creation of place-based crafts could theoretically be considered a form of “artistic production”.

⁴⁴⁴ Website: www.un.org/millenniumgoals/gender.shtml

⁴⁴⁵ There are, of course, practical drawbacks which harm the optimistic view that a GI system can reduce poverty. Governments in LDCs may not have the financial wherewithal to build a GI infrastructure. One solution mooted by the WTO is to create an international GI register which LDCs could freely use. This idea will be discussed at the World Intellectual Property Organization's (WIPO) 'Worldwide Symposium on Geographical Indications' in March 2013. There are also theoretical concerns as many potential African GIs will result from the techniques of craftspeople rather than any intrinsic localised quality of the raw materials. The dominance of the 'German' reputation-based form of protection may lead to the international GI system becoming dangerously over-proliferated due to the inclusion of thousands of new crafts of which many will lack an overt physical connection to place.

⁴⁴⁶ GI Can Protect Handicraft From Abuse, *The Hindu*, 02 January 2013.

the town's name was protected at an international level (via TRIPS). Stacy Goldberg (2001: 136) observes that “the United States has no geographical indication law but rather protects geographical indications through trademark law and unfair competition law. The United States has not historically placed cultural or economic importance on geographical indications like many countries in Europe, because the European countries developed geographical indication law from the Romanistic system of registration, while the United States developed trademark law from the Anglo-American system of certification marks.”⁴⁴⁷ American companies lawfully use numerous 'genericised' protected European cheese names like 'Feta', 'Gorgonzola', 'Manchego', 'Mozzarella', 'Parmigiano Reggiano', and 'Roquefort' (Marette *et al.*, 2007). American consumers can purchase Feta from Greece and 'Feta' which might have been made in California. They can buy Parmesan (Parmigiano Reggiano) from the Emilia-Romagna region of Italy and 'Parmesan' pre-shredded in plastic tubs which could have been fabricated in New York. A recent article noted that “Kraft 100% Grated Parmesan Cheese” contains cellulose powder, potassium sorbate, and cheese cultures which would be illicit in genuine Parmigiano-Reggiano.⁴⁴⁸ The EU has attempted for almost a decade without success to 'clawback' these 'genericised' European geographical names and demanded, in 2003, that the WTO invalidate 41 geographical terms (Kerr, 2006).⁴⁴⁹

VIII. Concluding Remarks.

This study employs a geographical perspective to target the GI model and hence challenges the legal and economic approaches that have proliferated in recent years. However, it is necessary – despite the concerns highlighted throughout this work about how geography is deployed – to succinctly re-state or briefly mention the practical rationales that policy-makers invoke to justify claims to a GI structure which is independent of trademark law (Gangjee, 2006b). First, GIs are based on a collective right to a place-name. Any number of producers can use the GI as long as they adhere to the regulation. This prevents one person or company from monopoly control.⁴⁵⁰ Second, GIs are a state-mandated form of certification. Consumers who distrust

⁴⁴⁷ The US Patent and Trademarks Office (USPTO) also registers geographical names as 'certification marks'. These may indicate origin, quality, and methods of production. They include Florida Citrus (State of Florida's Department of Citrus), Napa Valley wines (Napa Valley Reserve Certification Board), Prosciutto Di Parma (Consorzio Del Prosciutto Di Parma), and Darjeeling (Tea Board of India). Gangjee (2007a), however, is highly sceptical that these certification marks can adequately protect place-based products as they provide limited exclusive rights to a geographical name (there are, for example, over 270 variations of the certification mark 'Tequila'). China also uses certification marks (Xiaobing and Kireeva, 2007).

⁴⁴⁸ Most Parmesan Cheeses in America are Fake, Here's Why, *Forbes*, 19 November 2012.

⁴⁴⁹ This 'clawback' would include English language translations such as 'Parmesan' and 'Parma Ham'.

⁴⁵⁰ It is, as mentioned, possible to have only one producer of a protected food although this is unusual.

private business will appreciate the involvement of national or local governments who are theoretically independent of the interests of GI producers. Third, the production of GIs often comprises part of a range of policy-making functions. Their use can promote economic development (through exports), operate as part of a rural policy framework (to encourage the production of quality foods in rural or semi-rural industries), encourage tourism (agri-tourism and food tourism), and preserve the TK of indigenous groups (particularly in Africa and India). These benefits are less likely to derive from the owners of trademarks who lack a connection to public policy. Fourth, GIs can benefit producers who supply public bodies. The municipal authorities in Rome published a tender to provide meals to local schoolchildren. They preferred that producers possessed protected status which allowed the Welsh Lamb (PGI) consortium to successfully bid (Sonnino, 2009).⁴⁵¹ There is no reason why public institutions throughout the EU will not start to similarly request PFN certification as part of their tenders. There are no comparable ways that trademarks could be demanded.

Fifth, TRIPS applies to all WTO nations and PFNs are protected in the 27 EU nation-states. GIs, unlike trademarks, do not therefore need to be individually registered in each country. Sixth, nations that join these organisations must agree to protect all extant GIs. If, for example, Turkey joined the EU then it would have to protect every EU PFN. Finally, trademarks operate according to a 'first in time first in right' (FITFIR) policy. Whoever first registers a name will own it in perpetuity.⁴⁵² The US strongly supports the FITFIR standard in order to protect American companies that use (European) place-names in their trademarks (which may well have become 'genericised' in the US). GIs, by comparison, are granted based on their historical link to a defined area. This allows EU place-names to be protected even if out-of-place companies are already using the name.⁴⁵³ The seven above-mentioned factors denote the practical benefits of an *sui generis*⁴⁵⁴ GI model. These are the arguments routinely issued by lawyers, economists, development practitioners, policy-makers, and, of course, the producers themselves. In this thesis I have presented my concerns about the troublesome ways in which GI producers apply geography. Nonetheless, it would be remiss to ignore the practical benefits that producers and policy-makers argue they gain from an independent GI system.

⁴⁵¹ Nine points (out of 100) were awarded to producers who had PDO or PGI certification. By comparison, only four points were provided to manufacturers who supplied organic produce and two points to those who sourced Fair Trade goods.

⁴⁵² This assumes that the trademark holder ensures that the name does not become generic.

⁴⁵³ This situation is best demonstrated by Northern Foods' restrictions on using the 'Melton Mowbray' name.

⁴⁵⁴ In legal terminology *sui generis* refers to a legal system which is unique from other legal structures. GIs, for example, exist outside the conventional IP (trademark) system.

However, despite these benefits, my thesis revealed that the GI infrastructure lacks coherence in the way that it enrolls geography. The case studies showed that its practitioners employ place, boundaries, *terroir*, and authenticity in ways that will surely unsettle geographers. Producers and regulators, however, have failed to question the constructions on which the GI edifice is built. They remain unconcerned that the scheme's growing internationalisation means that manufacturers who have used geographical names in good faith for generations will discover that their valuable place-names have been arbitrarily prohibited. The excluded producers will be compelled to re-name their products in a less desirable way and thus forego investments in the brand. There is no reason why this could not also occur in LDCs which would therefore harm the traditional lifestyles the GI structure is ostensibly supposed to support. It is therefore worrisome that – given the ambiguities that permeate the current system – its participants have allocated themselves new regulatory powers to expand into LDCs and supersede trademark law. These significant amplifications are in addition to the ever-increasing number of GIs registered at international, EU, and national scales. This thesis contributes to critical debates about the future of the GI structure and provides some pertinent ideas about how this place-based IP model can be usefully reformulated. These suggestions are particularly timely in light of the augmented remit and increasingly prescriptive powers that GI producers have recently been granted.

Appendix: Sample Interview Questions.

The questions below demonstrate my open-ended phraseology. Some queries were planned in advance while others were spontaneously formed in the interviews. I invariably developed new questions based on the information received from previous interviewees. The enquiries below are categorised thematically. Some (such as the 'rationale for protection') were always asked while others applied to a specific study. Each case emphasised different themes: Melton Mowbray focused on constructions of place and boundaries, Stilton prioritised *terroir*, while Grimsby highlighted the production process.

Melton Mowbray Pork Pies.

Rationale for Protection.

Why was the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie Association (MMPPA) founded?

Were there any issues or conflicts that arose when creating the Association?

Why did MMPPA members decide to request Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) status?

Why did the supermarkets previously request cured (rather than uncured) meat? Why was that a concern?

Was there a 'moral' impetus for protection?

Are Melton Mowbrays a reputation-based food?

How did you decide the official ingredients? How much variation is permitted?

Have you noticed any 'counterfeit' pies on sale since the award of PGI status?

How does protected status benefit the consumer?

Place and *Terroir*.

Why is only one Melton Mowbray producer located in the town itself?

You [Mrs Elizabeth King] are located in Cotgrave (Nottingham) rather than in Melton Mowbray – does this matter?

Do you claim that the 'natural' constitution of the Melton area affects the quality of your pies?

Why are the pies protected by a PGI and not a Protected Designation of Origin (PDO)?

Boundaries.

How did you decide which pork pie manufacturers should be included in the protected zone?

What historical evidence was employed to determine the contemporary protected zone?
Why and how was your original boundary scheme challenged?
How can it be legitimate to exclude manufacturers who were using the 'Melton Mowbray' name in good faith?

History and Tradition.

What is the historical connection between pork pies and the Melton area?
Your firm [Dickinson & Morris] has been baking since 1851 – how important are issues of tradition?
Is it possible to distinguish between notions of heritage and those of tradition?

Authenticity.

Is the PGI logo or the 'Authentic Melton Mowbray' logo more effective?
How would you define an 'authentic' Melton Mowbray?
Which of your [Dickinson & Morris] pies are hand-made and which are mechanically produced? What is the difference?
You [Samworth Brothers] use 'industrial' methods of production – how can your pies be considered authentic?
Is it possible to replicate a 'Melton Mowbray' outside the protected area?

Consumption.

How does the PGI assist the branding of Melton Mowbray as the 'Rural Capital of Food'?
What is the current state of the local gastro-tourism industry? Has it been enhanced by the PGI?
What type of consumers seek out Melton Mowbray pies?
How do you [Dickinson & Morris] 'sell' the pork pie experience to consumers who enter your shop?

Miscellaneous.

Why does the MMPPA want to amend the PGI?
What happens during the annual inspection? What do the results prove?
How did you use the media to generate support?

Stilton Cheese.

Rationale for Protection.

What are the benefits of Stilton Cheesemakers' Association (SCMA) membership?

What were the economic and cultural goals of PDO status?

The SCMA was awarded a Certification Trademark (CTM) in 1966 – how does it protect Stilton?

What is the relationship between the PDO and the CTM? Isn't the PDO somewhat superfluous?

Is the PDO useful in the export market?

Place and *Terroir*.

What qualities do the three counties possess which are absent in external locations?

How are the climatic conditions beneficial for making Stilton?

Do the dairies know from which farms the milk originates?

Does the milk used in your cheese come from the three counties or from a specific county?

The 12 farms that supply your [Cropwell Bishop] milk are located in the Peak District National Park – how is this milk different to milk sourced from elsewhere?

If these conditions are crucial then why can the milk be drawn from other counties at peak times?

What is the relationship between the 'natural' conditions and human cheese-making techniques? Which is more important and why?

How important is it to avoid variations in the production process? How do you achieve consistency?

To what extent is the milk standardised in the dairies?

Production Process.

How can traditional methods of production co-exist within a capitalist sphere of production?

Is your Stilton hand-made and, if so, why? How does it differ from mechanically-produced Stilton?

Why do you [Stichelton] use animal rennet? Why do other producers exclusively use vegetable rennet?

Stilton Village Case.

Stilton cannot be made in Stilton village – do you think that consumers would mind if they knew?

Does new evidence prove that the cheese did, in fact, originate from the village?

There is ambiguity about the geographical history of Stilton – how important is a standardised history?

What does the debate over the 'correct' history mean in terms of the authenticity of contemporary Stilton?

Would it be acceptable to amend the boundaries to include Stilton village?

Stichelton Case.

Why must all Stilton be made with pasteurised milk?

Do you think the PDO should change to allow unpasteurised Stilton?

What do you think are the dangers of unpasteurised cheese?

Miscellaneous.

Does the PDO indicate that Stilton must be of high quality or does it refer to ideas of tradition and authenticity?

How important is the PDO logo for consumers? Do they even know what it represents?

Your [Colston Bassett] firm is a farmers co-operative – how does this status influence your business model?

What is the purpose of events like the International Cheese Awards?

Grimsby Traditional Smoked Fish.

Rationale for Protection.

Why did you decide to create the Grimsby Traditional Fish Smokers Group (GTFS)?

What was the Group's rationale for obtaining PGI status?

Did the Group want to brand the 'Grimsby' name and, if so, for what purposes? What is so special about Grimsby?

The PGI uses the term 'traditional smoked' as mechanical kiln users had appropriated 'smoked' – how did this debasement occur?

Has the PGI improved your financial situation? Has it led to increased sales?

Place and *Terroir*.

The fish are sourced from Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and Norway – what differences accrue from these locations?

Do you favour one of these locations and, if so, why?

Why do you [Sealord Caistor] fillet in Iceland rather than in Grimsby?

These locations are outside the European Union – is this important and, if so, why?

What changes will occur if Iceland joins the EU and has to abide by the Common Fisheries Policy (CFP)?

Why not fish for local Grimsby cod and haddock?

How important is the Grimsby weather?

How does the smoking process change according to season?

Do you obtain all your fish from the market? If not, why not? From where do you acquire the rest?

History and Tradition.

Grimsby is a world leader in the fish processing trade – how does the town's history affect your business model and cultural perspective?

What do consumers imagine when they hear 'Grimsby' in the context of fish processing?

How have the traditional skills changed over the last century or so?

Production Process.

What does the smoking process actually do – how do consumers benefit?

Why are the smoke-house chimneys important? How do the effects on the fish differ from those of the mechanical smokers?

What are the advantages that the mechanical kiln owners have over the traditional smokers?

What type of wood is used in the chimneys to smoke the fish? Does the type matter?

What is necessary to become an 'expert' smoker?

My impression is that production requires considerable manual labour – tell me more about this?

I understand there are many vagaries of the production process – how can you ensure a consistent outcome?

Miscellaneous.

Why would a supermarket stock mechanically-produced smoked fish rather than PGI fish?

Why is smoked haddock so much more popular than cod even though both are protected?

Why can't PGI fish be dyed yellow? Why is fish dyed yellow anyhow?

Were you affected by the recent Icelandic financial crisis?

You [MTL Fish Curers] have Grade II listed building status – what are the benefits (or disadvantages) of listed status?

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⁴⁵⁵ The article states that "Matthew Rippon, a food researcher at Queen Mary, University of London, warned against seeing PFN as the preserve of small producers. 'Traditional is not the absolute opposite of commercial,' he said. 'There's no reason why a cottage industry can't be protected and there's no reason why a massive manufacturer can't be protected, as long as they can prove to the regulating body that they have the appropriate link with the place for a certain period of time. It [the protected name] can be as big as Parma ham or small as Staffordshire cheese.'"

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⁴⁵⁶ The story informs us that “Traditionally smoked Grimsby fish, the town's protected historic dish, has wowed a PhD student, who hopes his academic work will encourage more food groups to follow suit [obtain protected status]. A highlight for Mr. Rippon was a dawn visit to Grimsby Fish Market for the auction. He said 'I had to get up at 5am, which is not necessarily something I am used to.'”

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Seinų / Lazdijų Krašto Medus / Miód z Sejneńszczyzny / Łódzkiej szczyzny Registration: Dossier Number LT/PDO/0005/0850.

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